



JOHANNA VUORI

***Leadership Frames of Program Directors
at Finnish Universities of Applied Sciences***

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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UNIVERSITY OF TAMPERE

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I dedicate this to my husband Jukka and our precious daughters Iris, Suvi and Ilona!

In Espoo, January 2011

Johanna Vuori

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Abstract

The focus for this study was the leadership of people responsible for the line management of lecturers at Finnish universities of applied sciences (UASs). The term “program director” was used to refer to the profession in this study. The research objective was to analyze and understand the leadership orientations of program directors. Using reframing theory as a conceptual framework the research questions that guided the analysis were: do the program directors use the four leadership frames presented in the reframing theory, how do they use them and how do they use them to frame change. The empirical data were collected by interviewing program directors or persons in similar managerial positions at Finnish UASs. Thematic analysis with a prior code was used for the analysis of the interview material. In addition, four portraits of the leadership orientations were composed as composite examples of the use of leadership frames.

The structural frame in program directors’ work was seen as a consistent pursuit of rationality attempting to tighten the couplings between the organizational sub-systems. The primary change-making mechanism for a program director in this leadership frame is planning. The human resource frame in program directors’ work was manifest by their consistent efforts to pay individualized attention to every faculty member and to promote co-operation in multiple ways. The primary change-making tool in this leadership frame is the pursuit of shared leadership. The political frame in program directors’ work is evident in their persevering attempts to balance the needs of different interest groups. Change can be accomplished, but due to the loosely coupled nature of the organizational sub-systems, it is acknowledged that the outcomes are not necessarily exactly what was hoped for. The symbolic frame was manifest through the program directors’ efforts to build significance for the degree program and faculty members’ work. The primary change-making mechanism for the program directors in this frame was seen in their consistent attempts at joint sensemaking.

All program directors interviewed were interpreted to use the structural and the human resource leadership frames. The reframing theory suggests that effective leadership is achieved if a manager is able to multiframe, i.e. to use three or four leadership

frames. This study indicated that multiframing can also be found in program leadership. However, the multiframing activities could be further supported.

The recommendation of this study is that the work of a program director, or anyone in a similar position, should be thoroughly discussed within each UAS. The emphasis on multiframing leadership might be one of the solutions to support UASs' capacities for change.

Key words: higher education leadership, universities of applied sciences, reframing, leadership frame, loosely coupled systems

Tiivistelmä

Tutkimuksen kohteena ovat ammattikorkeakoulujen opettajien lähiesimiehet, joista käytetään tutkimuksessa termiä ”ohjelmajohtajat”. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena oli analysoida ja ymmärtää ohjelmajohtajien johtamisorientaatioita. Tutkimuksen viitekehyksenä oli johtamiskehysteoria. Tutkimuskysymyksinä olivat: käyttävätkö ohjelmajohtajat viitekehyksen mukaista neljää johtamiskehystä, miten ohjelmajohtajat käyttävät niitä ja miten johtamiskehyksiä käytetään muutoksen johtamisessa. Työn empiirinen aineisto kerättiin haastattelemalla ohjelmajohtajia tai vastaavassa asemassa toimivia lähiesimiehiä suomalaisissa ammattikorkeakouluissa. Aineiston analysointimetodina oli teema-analyysi, jossa käytettiin aiempaan tutkimukseen perustuvaa luokituskoodistoa. Empiirisen materiaalin pohjalta kirjoitettiin neljä kuvausta ohjelmajohtajien johtamisorientaatioista.

Ohjelmajohtajien rakenteellinen johtamiskehys näyttäytyi johdonmukaisena rationaalisuuden pyrkimyksenä ja yrityksenä tehdä organisaation osajärjestelmien välisistä kytkennöistä tiukempia. Tässä johtamiskehyksessä ohjelmajohtajat edistivät muutosta suunnittelun kautta. Henkilöstövoimavarajohtamiskehys näyttäytyi ohjelmajohtajien työssä heidän johdonmukaisina pyrkimyksinään kohdella jokaista opettajaa yksilöllisesti sekä edistää yhteistyötä monin tavoin. Muutosjohtamisen väline tässä johtamiskehyksessä oli pyrkimys jaettuun johtamiseen. Ohjelmajohtajien poliittinen johtamiskehys ilmeni siinä, että he pyrkivät kärsivällisesti tasapainottamaan eri sidosryhmien tarpeita. Muutosta voidaan edistää, mutta organisaation osajärjestelmien löyhien kytkentöjen vuoksi on tunnistettava, etteivät saavutetut tulokset ole välttämättä ole juuri niitä, joita tavoiteltiin. Symbolinen johtamiskehys ilmeni ohjelmajohtajien pyrkimyksissä rakentaa merkitystä koulutusohjelmalle ja opettajien työlle. Keskeistä muutoksessa tämän johtamiskehyksen mukaan on yhteinen ”sensemaking”.

Tutkimustulokset viittaavat siihen, että kaikkia johtamisteorian mallin mukaisia johtamiskehyksiä käytetään ammattikorkeakoulujen lähiesimiestyössä. Kaikkien haastateltujen ohjelmajohtajien tulkittiin käyttävän sekä rakenteellista että henkilöstövoimavarajoh-

tamiskehystä. Johtamiskehysteorian mukaisesti johtajuus on tehokasta, jos johtajalla on kyky taito useamman johtamiskehyksen käyttöön, ts. taito käyttää poliittista ja symbolista johtamiskehystä rakenteellisen ja henkilöstövoimavarakehyksen lisäksi. Tutkimus osoitti, että useamman johtamiskehyksen käyttöä ammattikorkeakoulujen lähiesiämissä esiintyy, mutta sitä voitaisiin lisätä.

Tutkimuksen suosituksena on, että ohjelmajohtajien tai vastaavassa asemassa olevien ammattikorkeakoulun lähiesiämissä työnkuvasta tulisi keskustella jokaisessa ammatikorkeakoulussa. Lähiesiämissä kannustaminen useamman johtamiskehyksen käyttöön voi tukea ammattikorkeakoulujen muutoskyvykkyyttä.

Avainsanat: korkeakoulujohtaminen, ammattikorkeakoulut, johtamiskehys, löyhäsidoksinen organisaatio, Bolman & Deal

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Introduction

1.1 Background

The recent literature on higher education evinces two contradicting arguments for the importance of higher education leadership. According to the first, higher education leadership is important because it is a way to transform institutions to better serve their stakeholders. In a recent Australian study a link was found between teachers' experiences of leadership and the quality of students' learning experiences (Ramsden, Prosser, Trigwell & Martin, 2007). In other words, leadership matters, because good leadership has a positive effect on faculty performance. Quite a different point of view is suggested in the argument that higher education leadership is important because leadership might affect higher education professionals' internal motivation to work at their optimal level. According to this view, instead of trying to define the competences of a good higher education leader, it might be even more relevant to acknowledge the adverse effects of leadership by identifying the possible demotivating and hazardous effects of inadequate leadership. (Bryman, 2007.) Whichever the point of view, it might well be concluded that leadership in higher education matters.

Studies on higher education leadership abound in colorful metaphors on the challenges of the task. Academic leadership is compared to "herding cats", deemed to be "a mission impossible" or "between a rock and a hard place" (e.g. Ramsden, 1998, p. 26; Santora & Sarros, 2008; Stanley & Algert, 2007; Brown & Moshavi, 2002). A career in higher education leadership has not been in the traditional career interest of aspiring new faculty members. However, this situation might be rapidly changing, at least in some countries and institutions. As a cynical commentator on the effects of managerial-

ism in Australian universities, Malcolm Saunders (2006) wrote about the joys of new managerial elite:

For those who are neither dedicated teachers nor keen researchers, it (managerialism) is as if Moses had parted the Red Sea. Managerialism has created for such academics the means whereby they might not merely survive but thrive. Their entire way of life consists of mission statements, position papers and reviews of one sort or another; committee meetings, interviews and corridor discussions; phone calls, e-mails and memoranda amongst themselves; interstate conferences with other departmental heads and deans; graduation, prize and other ceremonies. Alliances are formed, favors are asked, deals are made, debts are owed, careers are advanced.

....The humdrum of teaching (especially marking) and the risks associated with research (there is no guarantee that what you write will be published) are left behind in an environment in which success comes from wheeling and dealing and belonging to the ever-expanding managerial elite.

Managerialism and new public management (NPM) are terms used to refer to a doctrine that empowers public sector managers in a context of greater accountability for results (Salminen, 2003), although the exact interpretations seem to fluctuate widely in different countries (Pollitt, Thiel & Homburg, 2007, p. 2). Finland has by no means escaped the power of managerialism and its effects on different sectors of Finnish public administration have been studied e.g. by Ojala (2003) and Torppa (2007).

The effects of NPM on higher education include stimulation of competition for students and research funding, development of real prices for teaching, stress on financial control, introduction of student fees, explicit measurement and performance monitoring, concentration of funds in the highest performing institutions, explicit targets set by the Ministry of Education, strong rectorates, reduction in representation of faculty or trade unions in governance and the advent of performance-related pay. (Ferlie, Mussetlin & Andresani, 2008.)

The effects of managerialism on higher education vary across countries. Managerialism has affected the higher education sector in the UK and Australia in a profound way, whereas Austria and the Netherlands have only experienced a recent shift towards it. In addition, its effect on Portuguese or French universities has not, so far, been very profound. (Amaral, Fulton & Larsen, 2003). Interestingly, empirical research findings reveal that managerialism affects higher education institutions in a curious way. Whereas its effects on the UK higher education system are well documented (Deem, 2005; 2006; Deem & Brehony, 2005; Deem, Hillyard & Reed, 2007; Mercer, 2009), Kehm and Lanzendorf (2007) report that university deans in Germany and Austria basically perceive it as their role to protect academics from managerial interventions. Similar interpretations were presented in a cross-national study of accountability in higher education institutions in which it was found that university managers side-step

stronger accountability measures in order to support the professional integrity of their colleagues (Huisman & Currie, 2004).

One of the consequences of managerialism is the corporate-like position of the top management and the creation of powerful managerial infrastructures (Bleiklie & Kogan, 2007; Ferlie et al., 2008). The resulting infrastructures do not only have profound effects on the everyday lives of academia but are also changing the academic profession in an unforeseen way. The number of positions for academic managers and directors is increasing. This has resulted in changes in the internal power relationships of the traditional university dualism: the dominant descriptions of dividing the university into a collegium of academics and a bureaucracy of administrators are no longer to be seen at all universities. Recent observations on the UK higher education sector indicate that the division between the tasks of professional managers and manager-academics may be blurring and that the roles are becoming more hybrid (Kogan, 2007; Whitchurch, 2006; 2008).

The sarcasm and contempt expressed by Saunders (2006) in the quote above is one way of responding to this development. Another and perhaps a much more constructive way to approach the phenomenon might be found by studying the current roles of these new academic managers in different settings.

In this study, the context is leadership at Finnish universities of applied sciences (hereon referred to as UASs). The UASs, which represent the professional education sector of Finnish higher education, were established in the 1990s. During their short history, UASs have readily adopted many of the fashionable ideas of modern and effective universities. For example the ideas of entrepreneurial university, mode 2 knowledge and triple helix (cf. Clark, 1998; Gibbons et al., 1994; Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 2000) have easily spread within the UASs (Jolkkonen, 2005; Rissanen, 2005; Maljojoki, 2003). It is no wonder, that managerialism, as an ideology which promotes effectiveness and accountability in the organization, has found a fertile ground in the Finnish UASs.

The focus in this study is on the middle management level of Finnish UAS leadership. As the organizational structures of Finnish UASs vary, there is no uniform title to apply to leaders in charge of the supervision of UAS faculty. Titles such as degree program manager or program director are commonly used, but not, however, at all Finnish UASs. This being the case, the title "Program Director", which will be used to refer to these managers in this study, is not accurate in all cases, because some directors have responsibility for more than one program. Furthermore, in some UASs program directors are responsible for the degree program only, and not in a supervisory position of the faculty. In addition, there are UASs that have such flat organizational hierarchies that the members of internal top management groups are also responsible for the line management of the lecturers. This study, however, seeks to shed light into the middle management position in UASs, and those UASs in which the people responsible for the line management of teaching faculty were in top management positions were ignored from the sampling frame.

The role of a middle-manager in a UAS organization might be a significant one (Vidgrén, 2009, p. 142). However, the work of UAS middle management is largely an

unchartered field in the study of Finnish UASs. Although leadership and strategic management within Finnish UASs have been studied (Antikainen, 2005; Huuhka, 2004; Toikka, 2002; Nikander, 2003; Tiusanen, 2005; Kettunen 2009) from either the top management or general management point of view, there is relatively little knowledge of the actual leadership processes between a UAS lecturer and her/his immediate superior, with the exception of the studies by Aarrevaara (2006) and Lahtinen (2009). The position of a line manager of UAS lecturers, however, is not necessarily a very lucrative one and in some UASs recruitment to these positions has proved difficult (Mäki & Saranpää, 2010, p. 57). This study aims to provide more understanding of the work and challenges faced by these position holders.

1.2 Research orientation and objective

The study is intended to constitute a doctoral dissertation in higher education management, and thus the basic orientation is derived from higher education studies, higher education leadership in particular. The basic assumption is that leadership within higher education organizations should be discussed taking into account the special features of higher education organizations.

Finnish higher education researchers have studied the role of UASs as a part of the Finnish higher education sector (Ahola, 1997; 2006; Välimaa & Neuvonen-Rauhala, 2008); their R&D activities (Marttila, Lyytinen & Kautonen, 2008); UAS postgraduate degrees Neuvonen-Rauhala, 2009; Ojala & Ahola, 2009) and the financial autonomy of UASs (Kohtamäki, 2009), but discussion on UAS leadership with a pronounced orientation towards higher education research has so far been scarce. Vidgrén (2009, pp. 61–64) in her study on educational innovation management discusses the special features of higher educational leadership to some extent, Saranki-Rantakokko (2008, pp. 173–176) in her dissertation on ICT-based teaching management demonstrates knowledge of the classic literature on higher education leadership and Kettunen in his dissertation (2009) and various articles (e.g. Kettunen, 2003; Kettunen & Kantola, 2005) discusses UAS strategic leadership with both empirical and theoretical expertise of management of higher education organizations. However, most dissertations discussing the leadership or organizational cultures of Finnish UASs have been presented as dissertations in the field of education (Antikainen, 2005; Huuhka, 2004; Nikander, 2003; Toikka, 2002; Tiusanen, 2005; Jaatinen, 1999; Lahtinen, 2009). Puusa (2007), on the other hand, presented her dissertation on the organizational identity of a UAS in the field economics and business administration with remarkably little attention paid to the UAS context.

The research objective of this study is to analyze and understand the leadership orientations of program directors at Finnish universities of applied sciences in order to shed more light on a research area largely uncovered by previous research.

By offering a rich description and analysis of UASs from the point of view of their middle management, the possible practical contribution of this study lies in the further development of UAS organizations.

The research questions which will direct the analysis of this study are based on the conceptual framework of Bolman and Deal's (1984; 2008) reframing theory and will be presented after the introduction of the conceptual frame in Chapter 4.6. A central concept in this framework is the concept of a leadership frame. The leadership frame is a cognitive framework, which helps a leader to determine what is important and what is not. Leadership frames are used by leaders to interpret events and to decide what courses of action should be taken (Bolman & Deal, 2008, pp. 11–12). This study will investigate the use of UAS program directors' leadership frames.

In addition to the possible practical contribution of this study to the development of UAS organizations and leadership, this study will contribute to the research tradition of reframing studies in higher education.

1.3 Terminology

1.3.1 UASs, polytechnics, AMK institutions or AMKs?

The Finnish term for a higher education institute belonging to the professional higher education sector is *ammattikorkeakoulu*. Both the Ministry of Education and the higher education institutions translated this term into English as “polytechnic” until December 2005, when the Rectors' Conference of these institutions, ARENE, decided to make a recommendation to all its members to use the translation “university of applied sciences” instead. ARENE argued that the term “polytechnic” is problematic in multiple ways. According to ARENE, the term “polytechnic” is often associated with the former British polytechnics. In addition, the term “polytechnic” in international contexts is sometimes interpreted to refer to institutes that specialize in technological education, thus giving an erroneous impression of the scope of activities within the Finnish institutions. Moreover, in some contexts the term has been interpreted to relate to secondary level education. ARENE stated that the practise of translating *ammattikorkeakoulu* as “university of applied sciences” is consistent with the practises of other countries with a dual higher education system, such as the Netherlands, Austria and Germany. In addition, ARENE argued that the English translation is a matter of the institutional autonomy of these higher education institutions and not up to the Ministry of Education to decide (ARENE, 2007).

This translation, however, has not been approved by the Ministry of Education and Culture. The Ministry has continued to use the term “polytechnic” in all its official documents and in the English translations of the degrees. The translation “university

of applied sciences” has also been vehemently attacked by the Finnish Council of University Rectors (Niiniluoto, 2006). The Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council FINHEEC, however, prefers to use the term universities of applied sciences (FINHEEC, 2010, p. 7).

At the time of writing, the dispute remains unresolved. In 2008, a Member of Parliament, Arto Satonen, submitted a written question (563/2008) concerning the English translation of *ammattikorkeakoulu*. In her answer, the Minister of Education Sari Sarkomaa replied that this matter could be further discussed in connection with the new university legislation. However, in the summer of 2009, when the bills (Universities Act 558/2009; Act Amending and Temporarily Amending the Polytechnics Act 564/2009) were passed in the Parliament, the issue of the English translation of *ammattikorkeakoulu* was never brought up.

In practise, this is quite a peculiar situation. The Ministry of Education and Culture, which steers these institutions, lists them on its English Web pages (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2010) under different institutional names from what the institutions call themselves i.e. an institution which translates its name as Turku University of Applied Sciences is listed as Turku Polytechnic on the Ministry’s Web pages. In addition, these institutions grant degrees calling themselves universities of applied sciences but attach diploma supplements which refer to polytechnic legislation and polytechnic degrees.

This debate is by no means confined to Finland. ARENE is a member of a European-wide network of similar higher education institutions, UASNET. UASNET (Soo & de Weert, 2009, p. 8) argues that naming these institutes as a part of “non-university higher education” or referring to them as “other” or “alternative” institutions is “totally obsolete”. UASNET (Soo & de Weert, 2009, p. 8) provides a list of these institutes’ national names and their international designation (Table 1).

Table 1. UASNET’s list of national terms of UASs and their English designation

(Source: Soo & de Weert, 2009, p.8)

Country	National term	International designation
Austria	Fachhochschulen (FH)	Universities of Applied Sciences
Denmark	University Colleges	University Colleges
Estonia	Kõrgkool	College, Academy, University of Applied Sciences
Finland	Ammattikorkeakoulu (AMK)	Universities of Applied Sciences
France	Instituts Universitaire de Technologie (IUT)	Instituts Universitaire de Technologie (IUT)
Germany	Fachhochschulen (FH)	Universities of Applied Sciences
Ireland	Institutes of Technology (IOT)	Institutes of Technology (IOT)
Lithuania	Colleges of Higher Education	Colleges of Higher Education
Netherlands	Hogeschoolen (HBO)	Universities of Applied Sciences
Portugal	Instituto Politecnico	Polytechnics
Switzerland	Fachhochschulen (FH)	Universities of Applied Sciences

The choice of an English translation of the term *ammattikorkeakoulu* varied among Finnish higher education researchers prior to the present debate, too. For example, Ahola prefers “AMK institutions” in 1997, writes about “polytechnics” together with Mesikämnen in 2003 and about “AMKs” in 2006, whereas Hölttä uses “AMKs” in 2000 but together with Rekilä in 2003 “AMK institutions”.

The international discussion on the Finnish higher education system varies in its choice of terminology, too. In the 1995 review of Finnish higher education, the OECD reviewers consistently use the Finnish term *ammattikorkeakoulu*. The reviewers argued that the term “polytechnic” would refer to a technical university or the former UK polytechnics (OECD, 1995, p. 194). In light of the events to unfold, it is of some interest to note that the Finnish Minister of Education at that time, Olli-Pekka Heinonen, is reported to have paid special attention to the use of the Finnish term “and not a translation of any country” in the report and its presentation in Paris. Mr Heinonen is quoted to have said that this is an acknowledgement of Finland having created a unique system. (Liljander, 2002).

In the 2003 OECD review, the reviewers use both “AMK institutions” and “polytechnics” (OECD, 2003), whereas Pratt et al. (2004) are consistent in calling these institutions “polytechnics”. Lately, Dobson (2008) published a fierce commentary against the term “university of applied sciences”.

Since 2006, Finnish researchers seem to have made different choices concerning the English translation of the institution. Välimaa and Neuvonen-Rauhala (2008) stick with “polytechnic”, as do Marttila, Lyytinen and Kaukonen (2008) as well as Hölttä (2008). Kohtamäki (2009) prefers “AMK institutions” whereas Kettunen (2007; 2009) systematically uses the term “university of applied sciences” when discussing this sector of Finnish higher education in the international context. Some, for example Aarrevaara (2007) alone, and in 2009 together with Dobson and Elander, do not seem to have a preference, and alternate between the terms “polytechnic” and “university of applied sciences”.

It is impossible to speculate whether the adaptation of key terminology in this case reflects the personal value choice of a researcher reflecting either respect for the autonomy of the institutions or the acknowledgement of the steering and legislation power of the Ministry of Education and Culture or whether it is a question related to past or present connections with either ARENE or the Ministry, the point of view of co-authors, experts used for language checking or peer reviewers’ preferences in international journals or perhaps just plain researcher’s neutrality.

When I began with my dissertation in December 2006, although employed by a higher education institution which had recently adopted the practise of translating its name as “University of Applied Sciences”, I was neutral towards the terminology debate and convinced that the dispute would be resolved by the time this dissertation was approaching its final stages. However, this has not been the case, and the battle line seems to grow even wider. At the same time, I have abandoned my former neutral stand and joined the advocates of the “UAS” term in an effort to cherish the institutional autonomy of these institutions. Thus, in this study “university of applied sciences”, “UAS” will be

used to refer Finnish *ammattikorkeakoulut* in all other chapters except those describing the historical events prior to December 2005. For those chapters the choice in this report is the term “AMK institutions”. However, when referring to the legislation, the Ministry’s terminology and thus the term “polytechnic” will be used.

For this reason, it would also be quite awkward to claim the higher education sector Finnish UASs represent “a non-university” sector. The term has often been regarded as being too derogatory (Teichler, 2008a; Soo & de Weert, 2009, p. 8) because it defines this sector not within its own right, but in contrast to some other. For this reason, this term will be avoided in this report, too. Soo and de Weert point out those calling research universities “traditional” universities might be biased as well; one simply cannot know about the degree of traditionalism or transformation these institutions have gone through lately. However, this term will be used in this study, because the alternative “research university” would imply that no research is carried out in universities of applied sciences.

1.3.2 Leadership and management

Another important note is related to the use of terminology on leadership and management. Not only is the differentiation between these terms important in general leadership studies and in research on higher education leadership, but the terms have special definitions in the conceptual framework chosen for this study, i.e. the reframing theory by Bolman and Deal (1984/2008), too.

One of the most often quoted concept differentiations between management and leadership is provided by Kotter (e.g. 1996, pp. 25–26). According to him leadership is a mechanism to produce change in an organization whereas management, in his definition, is a way of producing a degree of predictability and order in an organization. Kotter argues that the discussion on whether leadership is more important than management is useless. In his view both are needed in organizations.

Among higher education scholars there are differing views on whether the higher education leaders’ roles as a manager and a leader could be treated separately. Birnbaum (2001) is among those who do not make the distinction between these roles in higher education organizations. He argues that good leaders in higher education often have good management skills and good managers are considered to be good leaders.

It is easy to differentiate between bean counters at one end of the continuum and visionaries at the other but in formal organizations, effective leaders cannot be indifferent to beans, and effective managers must have a clear sense of where they want to go, and why. (Birnbaum, 2001, p. xiv.)

However, the prominent higher education leadership researchers Middlehurst and Ramsden want to emphasize the differences in terminology. Middlehurst (1999) makes

distinctions between the terms leadership, governance, management and administration in connection with higher education. According to her, leadership and governance are concerned with overall direction and strategy of a higher education institution. Leadership and governance are guided by the institution's purpose, value, culture, history and mission as well as its regulatory requirements. Management and administration, on the other hand, refer to implementation, control and co-ordination processes which emphasize resource frameworks and structures in Middlehurst's vocabulary. According to Middlehurst, the term leadership can be understood in multiple ways. Firstly, it is used to relate to a role which is carried out by post-holders. Secondly, it refers to the function that can and needs to be performed at different levels in an institution, in both formal and informal contexts. Finally, it can be taken to mean the process of social influence that guides individuals and groups towards particular goals.

Ramsden's interpretation between the terms management and leadership has clearly been influenced by Kotter. In a similar fashion Ramsden (1998, p. 109) states that one is not more important than the other; both management and leadership are needed in higher education organizations. For Ramsden leadership in higher education is "an everyday process of supporting, managing, developing and inspiring colleagues" and for that reason it should be exercised at every level of a higher education organization (Ramsden 1998, p. 4; p. 117). According to Ramsden, management is important as a systematic way of balancing the exchange of ideas in a higher education organization. In addition, Ramsden (1998, p. 5) contends that leadership is about learning, indicating that leadership is a process which enables higher education faculty to learn new skills and knowledge. Ramsden's interpretation of the concept of leadership encompasses a wide area of organizational behavior as he states that "leadership is to do with how people relate to each other".

The conceptual framework for this study is reframing theory (Bolman & Deal, 2008) and a more detailed description of Bolman and Deal's reframing theory will be given in Chapter 4. Bolman and Deal (2008, p. 372) argue that too narrow ideas of leadership mislead managers and for that reason organizations should be seen through multiple lenses. Good leadership, according to them, is looking at the organization using structural, human resource, political and symbolic orientations. In their study (Bolman & Deal, 1991b), they demonstrate that leadership effectiveness is connected with the use of political and symbolic leadership orientations, whereas managerial effectiveness can be seen as the use of structural and human resource orientations. Both are needed in organizations:

The challenges of modern organizations require the objective perspective of managers as well as the brilliant flashes of vision that wise leadership provides. We need more people in managerial roles who can find simplicity and order amid organizational confusion and chaos. We need versatile and flexible leaders who are artists as well as analysts, who can reframe experience to discover new issues and possibilities. We need managers who love their work, the people whose lives they affect. We need leaders and managers who appreciate management as a moral and ethical undertaking. We need leaders who com-

bine hard-headed realism with passionate commitment to larger values and purposes. (Bolman & Deal, 2008, p. viii)

In Bolman and Deal's view (1994), leadership is inevitably and essentially political. They argue that the misconception of assuming that leadership is a rational act is one of the most common leadership traps. According to Bolman and Deal, leadership is not behavior in which the leader should "figure out the right thing to do, tell people what it is, and assume it will be done". Instead, leadership should be seen as "bringing people with conflicting points of view together to work out their differences so that the organization can be productive". Moreover, Bolman and Deal (1994) emphasize the symbolic content of leadership: "Effective leadership involves an incredible ability to touch the heart with words that bring out the best values". In addition, they point out, that an organizational vision, as such, might not be as important as engaging people in the process of visioning.

The terminology choice of this study is consistent with Bolman and Deal's framework, and, unless referring to the work of other researchers or position in the UAS hierarchy, the choice in this report is to use "leadership" as a general term incorporating various forms of managerial and leadership processes and to avoid the general term of "management". The choice to call the interviewees in this study Program Directors instead of Program Managers is also consistent with this choice. In other words, this is a study on the leadership of program directors working in middle management positions of Finnish universities of applied sciences.

1.3.3 Additional terminology notes

Three additional terminology notes are in order. Firstly, this report will consistently discuss UASs as the "professional" higher education sector instead of "vocational", at the same time acknowledging that traditional universities, too, train professionals in many fields. Even the English publications by the Ministry of Education and Culture seem to be inconsistent in the use of this term. In 1995 the Ministry reports that the term "vocational education" covers "all preparation for occupational activity except university education" (Ministry of Education, 1995, p. 97). In 2002 (Ministry of Education, 2002, p. 128) the preference was for "professional higher education" whereas in 2005 (Ministry of Education, 2005, p. 89) the choice was "vocational higher education". The current Website (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2010) introduces this sector of Finnish higher education as institutes which "train professionals in response to labor market needs and conduct R&D which supports instruction and promotes regional development in particular".¹

1. In the US higher education system professional higher education as a collection of postgraduate professional schools (e.g. in law, medicine, dentistry, pharmacology) according to Rudolph (1990, p. 343) is one of its characteristic manifestations

Secondly, this report systematically uses the construction “higher education leadership” instead of “academic leadership”. The argumentation for this is that the division between “academics” and institutional level administration (cf. Clark, 1983, pp. 31–33) in Finnish UASs is not easily comparable to a traditional university. This is because as a professionally orientated higher education institute, the organizational core of a UAS in most cases is a wider educational field and not a discipline. In addition, although in Finnish UASs there are middle management positions which are not directly involved with teaching or research (e.g. quality assurance departments, student affairs and library) the middle management positions of interest in this study, at program or educational field level, combine tasks that in a traditional university might be divided between administrative and academic management.

Thirdly, the Finnish ministry responsible for steering of the higher education institutions changed its name from “Ministry of Education” to “Ministry of Education and Culture” on May 1, 2010. In this report, the old name will be used to refer to events that took place before that date.²

1.4 Dissertation structure

Higher education research can be divided into four major areas: 1) research on the conditions under which academic substance is treated, 2) research on processes and people in higher education, 3) research on organizational matters at the system level as well as at the higher institution level and 4) research on quantitative-structural issues of higher education i.e. studies on the shape and size of the higher education system (Teichler, 2008b). Research on higher education leadership is discussed in two of the abovementioned categories of research. It should be regarded as one of the key phenomena on institutional (meso) level having a profound impact on the survival of the institution in its environment. In addition, in order to understand leadership within higher education organizations, one should study the people involved in leadership processes, the leader and the follower, and thus shift the emphasis onto the micro level.

The micro and meso level actions are, however, largely affected by the macro-level conditions and in order to understand what happens between a UAS faculty member and her/his superior, one needs to understand the context in which the leadership takes place. For this reason, in the introductory part of the dissertation a particular emphasis will be placed on defining the context where the leadership takes place, putting the Finnish UASs in a higher education context (Chapter 2) and defining the special characteristics of higher education organizations and leadership (Chapter 3).

Chapter 4 will introduce the theoretical framework: the reframing theory by Bolman and Deal (2008). Research questions will be presented in sub-chapter 4.5. Chapter 5

2. In addition, the referencing practise in this report is always to “Ministry of Education” instead of “Opetusministeriö” even though the publication may be written in the Finnish language

will explain data collection and analysis methods and discuss the ontological and epistemological backgrounds of the study and their relation to the research questions.

The empirical results describing four leadership frames of program directors will be presented in Chapter 6 and conclusions will be drawn in Chapter 7 (Table 2).

Table 2. Structure of the dissertation

Introduction	(Chapter 1)	
Context	Finnish universities of applied sciences (Chapter 2)	Leadership in higher education organizations (Chapter 3)
Theoretical Framework	Reframing theory (Chapter 4)	
Research questions	(Chapter 4.5)	
Methods	(Chapter 5)	
Findings	The four frames of program directors (Chapter 6)	
Conclusions	(Chapter 7)	

2

Universities of applied sciences

The current leadership practises of Finnish UASs can only be understood through an examination of the historical, cultural and environmental forces which have shaped the present systems through their constant interplay. This chapter aims at illustrating how important, from the point of view of evaluating leadership practises it is to understand not only the stages of UAS development but also the impact of the overt and covert forces behind them. The global or “supranational” factors cannot only be seen as a strong force leading up to the building of a professionally oriented higher education sector in Finnish education system with the inevitable consequence of discussion of the “academic drift” between the sectors but can also be seen to have intensified the managerialistic administrative culture emphasizing the accountability for results which can be seen to take various shapes in the everyday practises of Finnish UAS leadership.¹ Parallel to these factors, it is critical to understand the significance of the Finnish solution to establish a new higher education sector by building upon the former post-secondary vocational institutes. Finnish UASs have been forced to shake off in traditions of leadership practises of the former institutions in order to create a leadership culture suitable for a new type of higher education institution in the national education system. As a leadership challenge for the new institutions this has been reflected in the efforts to foster the development

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1. Rinne takes the view that the discussion of “the academic drift” is related to managerialistic values. In his view (2004, pp. 104–106) the two Finnish higher education sectors compete fiercely. He suggests that it is not only fair to talk about “academic drift” affecting UASs and “market drift” having an influence on the research universities in the form of competing for new students, customers and funding but there is a global “efficiency drift” influencing both higher education sectors in the form of management by results. Rinne considers that the efficiency and results and their continuous assessment have become “the welfare utopias resting on the virtues of education”.

of higher education professional identities among the faculty and strengthen the commitment to a newly-created multisectoral UAS institutions.

Chapter 2 has been structured to discuss the history of UASs in chronological order by examining the stages in UAS development. The experimental, establishment and evaluative stages of UAS history can be seen to illustrate how the challenges of academic drift, accountability culture and conscious abandonment of leadership practises of post-secondary vocational institutes have shaped our understanding of how the phenomenon of Finnish UAS leadership could be constructed in its present stage.

2.1 Finnish UASs in context

2.1.1 Dual or binary education system?

Together with Italy and Austria, Finland could be called a latecomer in professional higher education (Pfeffer et al., 2000; Pratt et al., 2004). Finnish higher education system consisted of only a university sector until the early 1990s.

The Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture has been consistent in calling the present Finnish higher education system a “dual” system (e.g. Ministry of Education, 2005; Lampinen, 2003, p. 66). The term is used to emphasize that Finnish higher education system consists of two equal but different sectors. Finnish higher education researchers have largely adopted this practise. For example, Ahola (1997) uses the term “dual” in connection with the German *Fachhochschulen*, Dutch *Hogescholen* and Finnish UASs, emphasizing that they are different and separate from the university sector. Ahola uses the term “binary” to classify the pre-1992 British system, but admits that it is difficult to make a distinction between the terms. Neuvonen-Rauhala’s (2009, p. 51) interpretation of these terms is similar. According to her, the Finnish higher education system is dual, because it consists of two equal sectors. Binary system in her vocabulary would mean a system in which one would be offering degrees in one sector which would qualify for entrance to the other sector.

This study will follow the practise and use the term “dual” to refer to Finnish higher education structure despite the observation that the international distinction between the terms “dual” and “binary” does not seem to be as straightforward. In international comparisons Finnish higher education system is most often classified under the “binary” label (Huisman & Kaiser, 2001; Kyvik, 2004; Grubb, 2003; OECD, 2005). In this view, the term “binary” simply refers to a higher education system in which there are two sectors and the same regulations apply to both. For example, Huisman and Kaiser (2001, p. 15) note that the use of the term “binary” does not always mean that a particular feature makes the sectors distinct (e.g. orientation to either theory or practise, or restriction of research only on academic side) nor that the distinctions are permanent. Kyvik (2004) argues that in a “dual” system the university sector clearly dominates the other sector.

2.1.2 Stages of UAS history

For the purposes of this study, the examination of the history of Finnish UASs is divided into three stages: the experimental stage and its preparation 1989–1995, the establishment stage 1996–2000 and the third stage from 2001 onward. The third stage will be called the evaluative stage in this report². The influence of OECD and the Bologna as “supranational” forces can be seen to have accelerated the development of the stages of Finnish UAS history (Rinne, Kallo & Hokka, 2004; Kallo, 2009). As the following sub-chapters 2.2–2.4 will explain, the OECD review of Finnish educational policy (1982) can be seen to have led to the experimental stage of UAS history and the OECD review of Finnish higher education (1995) to making the experimentation permanent. The evaluative stage of Finnish UAS history can be seen to have resulted from the Bologna process, the OECD review of polytechnic education (2003) and the OECD review of Finnish tertiary education. These stages, the supranational forces and the resulting legislation are summarized in Table 3.

2. In Salminen’s (2001, p. 83) view, there were two separate stages before the establishment stage: the stage of present system evaluation and the stage of new orientation. Neuvonen-Rauhala (2009, pp. 54–55) calls the third stage as the third state of institutionalization.

Table 3. Historical stages, legislation and the supranational influences of the Finnish UASs

(sources: Salminen, 2001; Ahola & Mesikämnen, 2003; Rinne, 2004)

Supranational influences	Historical stage, years	Legislation
OECD Review of Finnish educational policy (OECD 1982)	Experimental stage, 1989–1995	Act and Decree on Initial Vocational Training and Polytechnic Experiment (L391/1991, A392/1991) Decree on Higher Education Degrees (A203/1994) Act and Decree on Polytechnic Studies (L255/1995, A256/1995)
OECD Review of Finnish Higher Education (OECD 1995)	Establishment stage, 1996–2000	
Bologna Process OECD Review of Polytechnic Education in Finland (OECD 2003) OECD Review of Finnish Tertiary Education (OECD 2006)	Evaluative stage 2001– (continuing)	Act on the Piloting of Postgraduate Degrees (L645/2001) Act on Polytechnics (L3351/2003) and Government Decree on Polytechnics (A352/2003) Act Amending the Polytechnics Act (L411/2005) Act Amending and Temporarily Amending the Polytechnics Act (L564/2009)

2.2 The experimental stage

2.2.1 Key stakeholders at the experimental stage

An OECD review team recommended the establishment of “multiple purpose institutions” on the tertiary level side by side with the universities as early as in 1982 (OECD, 1982, p. 52). A system similar to the *Fachhochschulen* in Germany, *Hogeskoler* in Norway or *Hogescholen* in the Netherlands was seen to be a solution to make the higher education

in Finland more diversified. Finland's post-compulsory education system with its more than 250 post-secondary vocational institutions was complicated and it was difficult to compare it at international level. (Ministry of Education, 2005, p. 50.)

The idea of a two-sector higher education system was originally rejected in the early 1980s because it was not seen to be appropriate for Finnish education structure. Finnish academics and education decision makers believed firmly in the Humboldtian idea of a university as a unity of research and teaching. Finland had also established a wide network of regional universities in the 1970s and 1980s, which meant that there was no immediate need to better serve all parts of the country. The Finnish university system was homogeneous being under the strict control of the Ministry of Education. (Hölttä, 1988; Pfeffer et al., 2000). In addition, Finland had recently restructured its secondary-level vocational education (Ministry of Education, 2002, p. 45).

However, in 1989 the Ministry of Education drafted a proposal on the developmental needs of post-secondary education. Three separate higher education researcher groups assessed the proposal before its official publication and open debate. In 1990 the Ministry appointed both a steering and a monitoring group for the post-secondary education reform. (Salminen, 2001, p. 38; Lampinen, 1995.) The Ministry announced its wish to provide higher education for 60–65 percent of each age group. This was to be done by creating a work-life oriented higher education sector to complement the offerings of traditional universities. The AMK institutions were to be established by merging the former post-secondary vocational institutions and upgrading the mostly two-year diploma-level courses to three-to-four-year bachelor-level programs. The legislation for AMK experimentation was passed in 1991 (L391/91; A392/91).³

Salminen, who studied the planning process of AMK institutions from the point of view of the Ministry of Education, argues (2001, p. 89) that although the European higher education systems, mainly the German and Dutch ones, were looked into, they were not as such emulated by Finland. The similarities with the Dutch system are, according to Salminen, purely coincidental. Lampinen (2001) shares this view and suggests that the model was of Finnish origin, but acknowledges that the German *Fachhochschulen*, British Polytechnics and Dutch *HBO-institutes* “had an evident stimulating influence”.

In order to apply for an experimental license to operate as an AMK institution, the postsecondary vocational institutes formed alliances with each other. First experimental licenses were granted in 1991. By the following year, 22 polytechnics had received an experimental license. Most of the experimental licenses were granted to multidisciplinary regional coalitions, consisting very often of former business, engineering and nursing colleges. (Ministry of Education, 1995.) The Ministry wanted the experimental system to cover all parts of the country and all educational fields in the existing post-secondary system (Lampinen, 2003, p. 35).

Once the licenses for experimentation were granted, the degree programs were planned rapidly and experimental AMK institutions were ready to open their class-

3. The legislation (L391/91; A392/91) also covered experimentation in initial vocational training making it possible for secondary-level institutions to offer programs combining general and vocational qualifications

rooms to new students. Their programs were marketed with slogans that their offerings differentiated from those of universities by being more “practical” and “professional”. This was well received by the Finnish traditional universities, which, after their original objection to the idea of AMK institutions, created strategies through which they tried to channel AMK institutions to concentrate on practise-oriented teaching and applied research (Lampinen, 2003, p. 35). An influential decree on higher education degrees was issued in 1994 (A203/1994) placing AMK degrees into the system of Finnish higher education degrees.

At that time, Finland was suffering from a severe economic recession. One of the key strategies of the Government of Finland to accelerate the economic development was to build Finland as an information society. The idea of more than doubling the number of Finnish students in higher education was consistent with this goal. (Rinne et al., 2004.) The OECD country review on Finnish higher education was published in 1995. In the report, the higher education reform was praised by the examiners as being practical and logical and the developmental work accomplished in AMK institutions was hailed as “extraordinarily active” (OECD, 1995, p. 195). On the other hand, the reviewers criticized the Ministry’s goal to provide higher education for 60–65 percent of the age group (OECD, 1995, pp. 164–166; p. 197), questioned the clarity of the steering mechanisms of higher education institution and recommended the establishment of a national evaluation organization for higher education (OECD, 1995, pp. 217–225).

Most importantly, the OECD 1995 review recommended that the AMK experiment should be made permanent. The Polytechnics Act (L255/1995) and Decree (256/1995) were passed in 1995.

2.2.2 Internal experiences at the experimental stage

The effects of establishing a new type of higher education institutions by upgrading the programs of former post-secondary vocational institutes were felt at a personal level by the faculty working at the experimental AMK institutions, too. As the research findings reveal, the reactions among AMK faculty towards the experiment were by no means only positive, and as late as in 1997 some faculty still felt that the reform was “short-sighted, whimsical, distracting, back-and-forth sailing chaos” (Laakkonen, 1999, pp. 98–99). The experienced work-related stress of faculty increased, not only due to new tasks but also for organizational reasons.

It is evident that the leadership of AMK institutions emphasized the unity of different study fields while creating new organizational structures through mergers of former separate institutions. AMK faculty experienced this as a need to establish new practises for working with new colleagues and having difficulties finding a home base (Laakkonen, 1999; Herranen, 2003), e.g. a lecturer in nursing no longer worked in a nursing college but in a merged AMK institution. This took time and energy, although no major changes in the weekly workload of the faculty could be detected and the actual class preparation

time decreased compared to preparation time at the former institutions (Laakkonen 1999, p.132). The leaders of AMK institutions were faced with the task of motivating the faculty to create not only new identities as higher education professionals working for a merged AMK institution and but also to discard their former working identities as members specialized colleges of much smaller communities.

Herranen argues (2003, p. 77) that despite the public rhetoric the story of the AMK experiment was one of progress, rationality and utility leaving no place for the history of different study fields, the experiences of AMK reform during the experimental stage varied among educational fields. The public AMK rhetoric mostly described the experiences of faculty in the field of business education, who had distanced themselves from the working practises of post-secondary business colleges and assumed the roles of active AMK change agents. In the field of technology, the experiences were quite different, and the change was considered to be a threat which did not have profound effects on the work of faculty. In the study field of social work and health care, the faculty members felt that the UAS reform mostly meant challenges and a chance to learn new things. Herranen interpreted (2003, pp. 74–79) that one of the experiences of the reform was competition not only between different institutions but also between individual faculty members. The competition was experienced most severely in the field of business education, where faculty felt obliged to market themselves and their education to ensure that “their courses” were included in the curriculum.

On the other hand, faculty in all study fields shared the view that the reform decreased bureaucracy and control, because it had ended the former practise of inspections from the vocational education board. External control had been replaced by self-control and the faculty members felt that they were personally responsible for what they did. The reform had also meant abandoning some “school-like” features of education, such as lecturer-centered teaching, classroom dependency and strict control mechanisms in favor of higher education pedagogy. Above all, the meaning of higher education was interpreted by faculty as a responsibility for high-quality teaching. (Herranen, 2003, pp. 78–79.)

2.3 The establishment stage

The first permanent AMK operating licenses were granted by the Council of State in 1996 and by the year 2000 the licensing procedure was complete. Finland was thus following the recommendation of the OECD 1995 evaluators to set up a permanent system in a gradual way. All experimental AMK institutions were able to prove to the evaluative bodies that the quality to their teaching was meeting the objectives set. In the first year the license applications were screened by a separate working group established by the Ministry of Education. From 1996 on, the applications were processed in a separate license group of the newly established Finnish Higher Education Council (FINHEEC).

The establishment of this national evaluation body could be seen to be a quick response to the criticism expressed in the OECD 1995 review (Rinne et al., 2004).

In 1996 nine AMK institutions started their operations with a permanent AMK license granted by the Council of State. In 1997 the number of permanent licenses granted was seven, in 1998 four, in 1999 four and in the year 2000 five. (Antikainen, 2002, pp. 298–299.) At that time there were altogether 31 AMK institutions, 29 of which were steered by the Ministry of Education, one steered by the Ministry of Interior and one by the regional authorities of Åland. The AMK education was offered in seven different study fields, the largest of which was technology and traffic, business and administration being the second largest and social services and health care the third largest. In the year 2000 the 29 AMK institutions under the Ministry of Education had 114,146 students. The number of faculty was 7,137, of whom 5,268 were in full-time teaching positions. (Ministry of Education, 2001, p. 23.)

It has been argued that regional politics played a major role in the establishment process and that well-intended research and evaluation attempts were finally overrun and resulted in an incomplete solution (Ahola, 2006; Antikainen, 2002, p. 247). Only 24 institutions passed the evaluation, but 29 AMK institutions were made finally permanent. One of the crucial elements in this process was the license granting schedule, which was extremely fast and can be seen to have resulted in “rough” administrative mergers in the name of multidisciplinary and regionalism (Antikainen, 2002, p. 245).

It can be concluded that the leadership efforts in the establishment stage were not only seen in the continuous attempts to foster the unified working cultures within the new AMK institutions but also in the endeavours to prove convincingly and in a competitive manner to the licensing authorities that the operations of AMK institutions were well planned and efficient. After having studied the license application processes of eight AMK institutions Raudaskoski (2000, p. 161) argued that the 1995 legislation (L255/1995; A256/1995) emphasized the dominating working life values of effectiveness and the maximum economic gain and that the license applications reflected these instrumental values: AMK students learn only to be productive. She concluded (2000, p. 162) that the license application texts revealed that AMK institutions seemed to suffer from identity crises, because their educational tasks were not clear.

2.4 The evaluative stage

In addition to the leadership challenges of creating unified AMK institutions and being faced with the overwhelming ethos of competitiveness, the leadership of AMK institutions needed to find their place in the debate concerning what is often referred to as “the academic drift” i.e. the pursuit of a professional higher education sector to gain the status of the traditional university sector.

The term “academic drift” is often felt to be pejorative, for which reason no researcher will admit to having created the concept (Heinonen, 2006, p. 114). The concept is often avoided by UASs themselves in order to define their own position rather by emphasizing the uniqueness of the UAS sector through its working life orientation than defining their position by comparing it to the institutions belonging to the other sector (e.g. Pratt et al., 2004, p. 47). The concept is used here only to refer to the tendencies of UASs to pursue structural elements similar to the traditional universities, and not to belittle UASs’ efforts to profile themselves as differently oriented higher education providers (for the use of the factors of structural differences in comparisons between the sectors see e.g. Huisman and Kaiser, 2001, pp. 21–22).

In the history of Finnish UASs the structural level comparison of the two higher education sectors was not only evident in the discussion of the English translation of the institution type, i.e. the use the term universities of applied sciences in the international context (see discussion on the use of the term in Chapter 1.3.1 of this study), but in the AMK institutions efforts to have a right to grant master’s level degrees and professional doctorates as well as in the debate concerning the legitimacy to conduct research. The debate on these issues characterizes the evaluative stage of UAS history and will be discussed in the following subchapters.

2.4.1 The postgraduate degree

The events leading up to a polytechnic postgraduate degree and its realization are well documented, evaluated and analyzed in Finnish higher education history (Okkonen, 2003; 2004; 2005; Kekäle et al., 2004; Pratt et al., 2004; Neuvonen-Rauhala, 2009; Ojala & Ahola, 2009). The debate on whether AMK institutions should have the right to grant master’s level degrees had started as early as at the beginning of AMK reform (Pratt et al., 2004, p. 12). The representatives of the AMK institutions argued at that time that without a postgraduate degree the dual system would be incomplete. The universities as well as the working life representatives were originally opposed to the idea.

The Bologna process worked, or was made to work, in favor of the arguments on the AMK side. When it became evident that other European countries would let their professionally oriented higher education sectors adopt to the 3 + 2 model, Finnish AMK institutions deemed it appropriate to use internationalization as the key argument to introduce a postgraduate degree in AMK institutions. (Ahola, 2006.) The Act on the Piloting of Postgraduate Degrees (L645/2001), which allowed the postgraduate degree experiments, was passed in 2001. In 2002 postgraduate experimental degrees were offered by 20 AMK institutions in the form of six degree programs. Finally in 2005 the legislation (L411/2005) established postgraduate degrees permanently in Finnish AMK institutions.

The Ministry of Education invited an OECD committee to review the Finnish AMK system in 2001. According to the reviewers, Finland’s AMK system was considered

to be a success and did not need major changes (OECD, 2003, p. 154; p. 162). The professionally oriented UAS sector was seen to be an equal but different sector of higher education compared to the universities. The review committee regarded the experiment with postgraduate degrees favorably and recommended the term “Professional Master” for a postgraduate degree in the AMK sector. (OECD, 2003, p. 225.)

2.4.2 Polytechnic legislation of 2003

The OECD review of 2001–2003 had a clear impact on the wording of the 2003 AMK legislation, too. The previous act (L255/1995) stipulated that the AMK institutions constitute the non-university sector of higher education. According to the new Polytechnics Act (L3351/2003), following the advice of the OECD review team (OECD, 2003, p. 211), it was clearly stated that the AMK institutions were part of the Finnish higher education system alongside the universities.

Another significant formulation in this act is to be found in the paragraph which defines the tasks of the AMK institutions. In the previous act (L255/1995) the tasks were scattered around in different paragraphs, but now there was an attempt to group these under the same heading. The wording in the act of 2003 specifies that AMK institutions offer higher education which is based on the demands of the working life and its development and also on research and premises of artistic origin.

The government bill (HE 206/2002) articulates the priority of these tasks in an uncompromising manner. It stipulates that the demands of working life are of first priority. The act (L255/1995) also stipulates that the goal of AMK institutions is to educate professionals and to support their professional growth. The government bill also emphasizes the orientation on professionalism as the distinguishing factor between AMK institutions and universities.

The most often quoted part of the paragraph, however, concerns the right to engage in R&D which is granted to AMK institutions through this act. The act (L255/1995) stipulates that AMK institutions practise applied research and development which serve the needs of AMK education and its development and also support working life and regional development. The government bill (HE 206/2002) explicitly mentions that AMK institutions serve the needs of small and middle-sized companies as well as welfare services.

According to the government bill (HE 206/2002), the objective of AMK institutions’ R&D is the creation of new or improved products, production equipment, methods and services in order to serve the region and society. AMK education should partly be based on the results of its R&D activities. In addition, the R&D activities at an AMK institution should support the learning of its students.

AMK institutions had been involved in R&D since the beginning of the reform, and as early as in 1995 the OECD review (p. 201) recommended enhancing the profile of their applied research, their role as researchers or developers was long mostly

unknown in the companies. At that time AMK institutions were mostly appreciated as teaching organizations by companies. The main incentive for companies to co-operate with AMK institutions was to ensure a supply of the future workforce. Some company representatives even doubted the R&D competence of AMK institutions believing that their own R&D activities were more advanced. (Marttila, Kautonen, Niemonen & von Bell, 2004, pp. 98–101.)

On the other hand, the AMK institutions' faculty members involved with R&D did not have a very clear idea of their role as a part in the innovation system. They perceived their possible role in co-operation with the companies as 1) to accomplish routine tasks such as testing, measuring, marketing research that would enable the companies to focus on their own core activities, 2) to transfer and disseminate ideas, qualifications and innovations or 3) to support the adaptation of such ideas in companies. (Marttila, Kautonen, Niemonen & von Bell 2005, pp. 10–11.)

2.4.3 Evaluations and re-evaluations

As stated above, the first half of the 2000s brought along postgraduate degrees in the AMK institutions and strengthened the role of R&D within them. Both postgraduate degrees and legitimized research activity could be interpreted as signs of “academic drift”. In this respect, it is no wonder that the latter part of the decade was ripe for discussion on professional doctorates within AMK institutions. The universities' sole right to grant doctorates, as Huisman and Kaiser (2001, p. 21) state, seems in most countries to be the final dividing line between the two types of higher education institutions.

The discussion on professional doctorates was introduced almost simultaneously by two international review groups. One of these was an international evaluation team concentrating on Finnish doctoral education led by Professor David Dill, the other was yet another OECD review team, which at this time evaluated the Finnish tertiary sector in its entirety. Both groups introduced the idea of a professional doctorate (Dill et al., 2006, pp. 69–70; OECD, 2006, p. 45). Until 2010, however, the idea of establishing professional doctorates in UASs has not been advanced. A working group set by the Ministry of Education proposed in 2010 that universities could support the doctoral level studies of students with a UAS postgraduate degree. (Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 32.)

All in all, the Finnish UASs started to take part in numerous different types of evaluations in the 2000s. In addition to voluntary participations in the Centre of Excellence competitions arranged by FINHEEC since 2000, all Finnish UASs have taken part in evaluations and audits of different kinds. These include quality assurance systems audits of all higher education institutions which are held every sixth year as well as various subject specific thematic evaluations. (FINHEEC, 2010, p. 37; Kettunen, 2008.)

In addition, in the latter part of the decade, the Ministry has been very active in re-evaluating its former decisions on the Finnish UAS network through a vigorous

restructuring effort. UASs as well as universities were advised to look for possibilities for mergers or coalitions or in some other way to build bigger units. By encouraging large-scale institutional mergers, the Ministry was able to reduce the number of UASs in its sector to 26 by 2010. In addition, several new coalitions are being planned, either between individual UASs or in some parts of Finland, between universities and UASs. Arrangements of the latter kind have, of course, intensified the talk about the death of the dual system.

The UAS legislation was amended once more in 2009. This time, however, the pressure to amend it was rather national than supranational. Because of the new Universities Act (L558/2009) parallel changes were needed in the UAS sector and The Act Amending and Temporarily Amending the Polytechnics Act (L564/2009) became law on January 1, 2010.

According to the Act (L564/2009) the educational task of a UAS and possible development demands are defined in an operating license granted by the Council of State. Furthermore, UASs are self-governed in their own internal affairs. The owners of UASs are municipalities, federations of municipalities, limited liability companies or foundations, who are in charge of the most essential operational and financial matters. The governance of UASs is under the responsibility of a UAS board, which is chaired by the UAS rector. UAS faculty, administrative staff and students as well as representatives of working life are represented on the UAS board. The steering of the Ministry of Education and Culture is broadly based on the developmental plan for education and research of the government and on results oriented agreements between the Ministry and the UASs.

The Act (L654/2009) stipulates that UASs are not allowed to charge tuition fees for their bachelor's degree programs, and for master's level programs tuition fees are possible only from non-EU students. The most important source of income for UASs in 2009 was unit price funding, which represented 80.8% of UAS total funding. The second largest source for funding that year was charged services which accounted for 13.2 % of the total funding. (Ministry of Education, 2009, p. 86.)

2.5 Conclusion

As can be concluded from history, the UAS leadership was faced with numerous challenges creating a new type of higher education sector in Finland and proving its legitimacy and quality not only to the governmental authorities, but also to the traditional university sector, working life, present and prospective students and international partners. It is fair to say that the success of the Finnish UASs owes much to their top management. However, the “extraordinarily active” (OECD, 1995, p. 195) development work or the “success” of the UASs (OECD, 2003, p. 154; p. 162) has only been possible through the efforts of UAS lecturers. The transformation of their work has been one of the

great challenges not only the lecturers but also the UAS top management have faced; the leadership practises that were appropriate for former post-secondary institutions in the early 1990s needed to be replaced by new leadership approaches suitable for new multi-sector higher education institutions.

The UASs as autonomous institutions have been able to structure their internal organizations and to decide on their own in which form the organization of the UASs' three tasks will be carried out. There is surprisingly little documentation available for comparisons of how the UASs have structured their own internal organizations. For this reason, it is hard to evaluate to what extent the organizational structures resemble those of the former post-secondary colleges, traditional university organizations or business organizations. Prior to the experimental stage, in the field of business education, for example, it was customary for a business college principal to be the only one in a leadership position of the college, with a responsibility for the leadership of every employee in the college. The larger entities which were built through mergers at different UAS stages made it impossible for every member of the faculty to report directly to the UAS rector. New structural models, often reorganizing or creating the middle management level of internal organizations, needed to be developed to achieve the goals set for UASs.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, this study focuses on the middle management level of the present Finnish UASs to investigate the leadership orientations of professionals who are responsible for the leadership of the UAS lecturers. The contextual information provided in this chapter on the history of UASs is also reflected in their work. The managerialistic culture emphasizing accountability for results is seen in their everyday efforts. There is no indication of the heritage of the former post-secondary vocational institute having completely vanished and it could be still seen to affect the dialogue between AMK lecturers and their line managers. Nor were the leaders of AMK faculty able to escape from pressures of "academic drift" at least to the extent that they need to find everyday solutions to organizing the work of AMK faculty between teaching and research.

The following chapter (Chapter 3) will discuss the characteristics of higher education organizations to illustrate how these characteristics are useful for the analysis of Finnish UASs in their present stage of development.

3

Leadership in higher education organizations

3.1 Characteristics of higher education organizations

In order to understand higher education leadership, its context and the special features of the higher education organization need to be described. In the following, the characteristics of higher education organizations will be discussed on the basis of the higher education literature. Special attention will be paid to how well or how poorly these themes characterize the organizational contexts of Finnish UASs. However, this is challenging, as research on this area has been quite limited and the comparisons between traditional universities and UASs are almost nonexistent.

In Chapter 3.1 higher education organizations are approached by looking at their special features: vague goals and ambiguous decision-making, autonomy and academic freedom, collegialism, the loosely-coupled nature of higher education organizations and organizational vs. disciplinary cultures. Chapter 3.2 discusses different paradigms in leadership study in general and in relation to higher education organizations in particular.

3.1.1 Vague goals and ambiguous decision-making

Whereas the objectives of a business enterprise can easily be derived from the assumption that it should generate profit for its owners, the objectives of a higher education organization are much more difficult to define. This is especially true because a higher education institution typically has multiple and concurrent goals. Moreover, these goals often contradict each other (Cohen, March & Olsen, 1972; Cohen & March, 1974,

Gramsch & Cross, 1967). The conflicts result from the fundamental and consistent clash of values of justice, competence, liberty and loyalty, in a university system. No major accomplishment in a university system is possible without a compromise between these values. (Clark, 1983, pp. 241–252.) The threefold role of providing teaching, research and service simultaneously causes conflicting goals at individual, departmental and organizational level.

There is a fundamental difference between decision-making in companies and universities. In companies the decisions are made in order to solve a problem. Once a decision is made in a business organization, it will be implemented, usually rapidly and everyone is expected to commit to the decision and act accordingly.

This is often not the case in higher education organizations. Because of the multitude of goals and clashing values in higher education organizations, it is almost impossible to make rational choices that would maximize the outcome. Adopting any of the possible solutions might lead to the same end result. In addition, whereas the achievement of monetary goals in business organizations is easy to measure, the consequences of decision-making in higher education organizations are more difficult to assess. The symbolic value of the decision process might become even more significant than the solution. It is more important that the decision was made in a right and fair way since the basic value of equality manifests itself in university organization as the “have-nots” seek for equitable treatment as the “haves”. And, unlike in companies, in higher education organizations, the commitment to obey the decision is not total, and other practises may also be tolerated and might finally even override the official decision. (Cohen et al., 1972; Cohen & March, 1974; Clark, 1983, pp. 243–244; also Birnbaum, 1988, pp. 57–60; p. 80; Birnbaum, 2004; Reponen, 1999). Moreover, the matrix structure of university organization into “academics” and “administration” (Clark, 1983, pp. 31–33) can be seen to have a profound effect on the decision-making at research universities making them more complex than a business organization.

Although the UAS rectors might well disagree, it is probably not too excessive to suggest that the diffuse nature of organizational decision-making can easily be traced in Finnish UASs, too. The organizational goals are identifiable and often well documented, but are often in conflict with each other. One only needs to think about the pressures of producing more graduates in a shorter time with better qualifications or combinations of theoretical and practical goals in the same UAS degree program. UAS faculty, too, is reported to take its own liberties in the system and demonstrate their non-commitment to established working practises and procedures (Mäki & Saranpää, 2010, p. 72; Vuori, 2009).

3.1.2 Autonomy and academic freedom

Another significant feature distinguishing higher education organizations from other organizations is *autonomy*. Compared to other highly independent experts, for example

attorneys or accountants, higher education faculty has far more freedom, especially in the classroom. (Rowley & Sherman, 2003). Although teachers at all levels of education enjoy relatively strong autonomy, one of the most positive faculty experiences at the experimental stage of Finnish UAS history was an increased sense of autonomy. The faculty enjoyed not being controlled by the board of vocational education as they still were as teachers when working for the former post-secondary institutes. In addition, the faculty enjoyed the freedom of making curricular decisions on their own. Previously, when working in post-secondary institutes they had used a national curriculum drafted by the National Board of Education. (Herranen, 2003, pp. 62–65).

The autonomy experienced by UAS faculty should not, however, be confused with the concept of academic freedom. According to Middlehurst (1999) the concept of academic freedom has many meanings (see also Kohtamäki, 2009, pp. 69–70 for a discussion of the concept). Firstly, academic freedom can be used to describe freedom to teach and to do research in a manner and in the area of one's own choice. Secondly, the concept can be used to refer to freedom to publicly criticize ideas, regimes or activities without fear of consequences. Thirdly, the term might be interpreted as the freedom to create new theories. Fourthly, the concept of academic freedom can be applied to mean the selfless pursuit of knowledge. The pursuit of academic freedom reflects one of the basic university value sets of liberty (Clark, 1983, pp. 247–249).

The legislation (L564/2009) provides UASs with freedom to teach and do research. The UASs are able to design their own curricula, but the degree programs have to be approved by the Ministry. However, as discussed in Chapter 2.4.2, the research carried out at UASs should be applied in nature and conducted for the benefit of society, region or UAS education. Using Berdahl's (1990) definitions of autonomy, this would indicate that UASs have a full procedural autonomy i.e. the power to determine the means by which its goals and programs will be pursued, but substantive autonomy, i.e. the power of the higher education institution to determine its own goals and programs is, at least partly, controlled by and subject to the approval of the steering authorities.

The literature discussing UASs' freedom to do research has been quite limited and concentrated on the freedom of research at the institutional level, not reflecting the freedom of research of an individual UAS faculty member. Lampinen (2004) argues that UASs as institutions have extensive freedom of research "in principle". In his view the special task definition in the legislation can be seen as a legislator's statement of ethical and moral responsibility instead of seeing it as a restrictive factor in freedom to do research. Kainulainen (2004), on the other hand, is quite eloquent when comparing UAS research to a river describing how the UAS research river flows following the topographies of individual UASs between the embankments set by the Ministry of Education. Inevitably and slowly these restrictive factors will be eroded by the flowing water. An individual UAS faculty member may pursue applied research within these limitations, but it can hardly be argued that this freedom would encompass the free pursuit of knowledge in an area of one's own choice unless, of course, the research is carried on in the faculty member's own time.

The issue of the freedom to research as an individual faculty member's right was brought to public attention, albeit in passing, in connection with preparations for amending the Copyright Act to include a general clause about copyright in employment. On behalf of Metropolia UAS, Konkola (2008) gave a statement arguing that because the copyright in the former post-secondary vocational colleges belonged to the institution, this arrangement should be extended to UAS research as well. More specifically, Konkola claimed that the ownership copyright of researchers at traditional universities should not be extended to UAS researchers and that the UASs as institutions should have the right to adapt the researcher's work and sell the rights to a third party. At the time of writing this report, the drafting of an amendment to the copyright act to include the general clause about copyright in employment has been halted. In the light of Konkola's statement, however, the question on the academic freedom of a UAS researcher is becoming more controversial. Keeping in mind the UAS tendencies to pursue similar structural elements as traditional universities and to be called universities of applied sciences (cf. discussion on the "academic drift" in the previous chapter of this study) it is to be noted that in order to promote her standpoint on the copyright issue, Konkola refers to the practises of former post-secondary colleges emphasizing the differences of UASs from the traditional universities. This seems to be argumentation contradicting the academic drift. As Kohtamäki (2009, p. 70) concludes, the rationale behind academic freedom is the fulfilment of the mission of the higher education institution i.e. the pursuit and application of knowledge. One can only speculate how successful the pursuit and application of knowledge will be if the UASs as institutions as full copyright owners are able to modify and obstruct the presentation of research findings made by UAS faculty members.

Another aspect of academic freedom is the use of the discipline as a frame of reference (Clark, 1983, p. 30; Ramsden, 1998, p. 23). Instead of identifying with the higher education institution and its administrative staff, academics prefer to feel at home with fellow-researchers in the global context. This might well be the case at Finnish universities, too (Treuthardt, 2004). There is little evidence of this from the UAS sector, but in a case study on a Finnish UAS it was concluded that while the UAS leadership was committed to the organization, UAS faculty was committed to their work, their own self-development and the maintenance of professional skills (Puusa, 2007, p. 210).

To conclude, it might be argued that Finnish UASs as institutions are autonomous and decide on their own teaching and research agendas, but individual UAS lecturers, while enjoying a great autonomy in the classroom, choosing the content and methods for their teaching and in most UASs having the opportunity to be involved in curriculum design and to influence the research agenda of their institution, cannot spend their working days pursuing knowledge unselfishly or selfishly but are bound to work on the courses, studies or projects assigned to them by the UAS leadership. Konkola's (2008) statement might be interpreted to mean that the freedom to research on the individual level of a researcher might actually be a clear dividing line between Finnish traditional universities and universities of applied sciences.

3.1.3 Collegialism

Collegialism, or as it is called in the US “shared governance”, is an academic decision-making tradition that is based on consensus-seeking decision-making in joint meetings where everyone has an equal vote. Decision-making is based on the principle, that the strongest argument wins regardless of whether it was presented by the most senior or junior member of the faculty. (Välimaa, 2005, p. 163.) In North American universities “shared governance” refers to the practice of assistant and associate professors of the same department having an equal status with the senior professors in decision-making. In a similar fashion the term “collegialism” in the UK university context refers to the practices of treating the junior academic members of the department as equals in status with the senior members in Oxford and Cambridge or to the decision-making of other traditional British universities in which junior academics are considered to be at least future equals of the senior members of the department. (Daalder, 1982.)

Higher education researchers have divided views on the merits of collegialism and its relevance in higher education organizations today. Collegialism can be seen as a thing of the past: “It is slow, it is inward looking, its procedures are unwieldy. It exudes an air of protective self-interest.” (Ramsden, 1998, p. 23). In this view collegialism is regarded to be a mechanism which hinders efforts to change because it does not encourage higher education faculty to take risks or encourage proactive behavior or discussing matters in depth (Meyer H.-D., 2002). Kogan (2007), on the other hand, considers that the “often mythic collegium” of a university system has been replaced by a model of several collegia in a university held together through the bureaucratic and hierarchical forms.

The advocates of collegialism take a position which stresses that success cannot be achieved without the commitment of people and emphasizes that collegialism yields to good results, especially when applied to academic matters or to hard decision-making when reasons need to be exposed to rational analysis and argumentation. (Shattock, 2003, pp. 88–99; Birnbaum, 2004). In response to the critique of shared governance Birnbaum (2004) argues “The complaints are not really about the inability to move quickly, they are about the inability to change a university quickly into something else”. For that reason, he suggests that shared governance is not suitable for every higher education institution, only those which are at the academic end of the academic continuum.

To the extent that institutions move away from the academic pole and emphasize education as a means rather than as an end by offering products based on consumer demand, deviations from shared governance may potentially useful. (Birnbaum, 2004.)

A similar conclusion is drawn by Shattock (2003, pp. 88–99), who argues that collegialism never travelled across the binary line between British pre- and post-1992 universities and points out that the most effective British (pre-1992) universities are using collegial

decision-making styles and the universities with more managerialistic approaches tend to be in the bottom positions of performance ranks.¹

In other European universities the position of junior academic faculty did not always follow the practices of UK universities in regard to collegialism. The student democracy movement in 1967–1969 brought along changes that affected the position of the junior members in many European universities. The student democracy movement can be credited for changing European university structures by bringing junior members of the faculty to university decision-making bodies together with students and administrative staff. (Daalder, 1982).

This was the case in Finland, too. The lower status teachers and students got representative rights in university decision-making at the same time, much thanks to the students, who were more active than teachers in this issue. The Finnish students' movement set universal and equal suffrage "one man – one vote" as their main goal in 1968. In Finland as in many other European countries there was much political interest in advancing the ideas of equal participation in society. The university was seen as a micro cosmos of society where these democratic principles ought to be practiced. Between 1969–1974, under three ministers of education, there were attempts to pass legislation for the "one man – one vote" –issue in Finnish universities, but ultimately all failed. Gradually, however, through separate acts, junior academic faculty, administrative staff and students were given rights to participate in university decision-making in all Finnish universities. (Klinge, 1992, pp. 775–794; Kivinen, Rinne & Ketonen, 1993, pp. 89–103; Pesonen, 1982.)

The conceptions of the existence of collegialism or shared governance in present Finnish traditional universities vary. Välimaa (2005) and Räsänen (2005) argue that collegialism is the traditional decision-making mechanism practise in Finnish universities. Kekäle (2001), on the other hand, suggests that it is not practised everywhere.

Although the working cultures of UASs might prefer joint planning in multiple ways (e.g. curriculum design) and although teachers, administrative staff and students are represented in various UAS decision making organs and especially in UAS boards along with the representatives from working life, and as board members are responsible for deciding on important UAS issues e.g. drafting budgets and annual plans for the UAS license holder, accepting UAS degree regulations and rules regarding UAS internal organization (Act on Polytechnics L351/2003, Act Amending and Temporarily Amending the Polytechnic Act L564/2009), the concept of collegialism, as an idea of sharing higher

1. Deem et al. (2007, p. 65) suggest that the governance of former British polytechnics was characterized by a bureaucratic and managerial orientation because of the history of these institutions working under the regulations of local government. Henkel (2002), on the other hand, questions the idealized image of a university as a collegium and the stereotyped picture of a polytechnic as a local government bureaucracy with hierarchical decision-making. According to her, the British polytechnics had already emancipated themselves from local government prior to 1992 and had built internal structures that gave more influence to their academic members. This was mainly due to the Reform Act of 1988 which gave corporate governance to polytechnics. Polytechnics' governing bodies were small executive boards, whose members represented business. Nevertheless, the polytechnic directors had clear authority within their institutions and leadership in polytechnics was less divided than that of universities.

education governance as depicted in the American or British higher education literature, is hardly accurate to describe the status of faculty in decision-making in present day UASs. It is relatively easy to argue that in UASs there are no shared governance models in decision-making. UASs are more inclined to managerialism with strong rectorates and powerful internal top management groups.

Recently, however, Mäki and Saranpää (2010, p. 81) suggested that the leadership concept of Finnish UASs should be transformed. They propose that UASs should practise leadership which would encompass all organizational members and entail procedures which would transform the existing top-down management culture. Mäki and Saranpää's thinking has been influenced by the ideas of "shared leadership" (e.g. Fletcher & Käufer, 2003). This idea of "sharing" or "distributing" leadership instead of attaching all leadership actions and demands to the position holder has been met with much enthusiasm among researchers of school leadership (e.g. Harris, 2005; Mujis et al., 2006; Lambert, 2002). As a "post-heroic" leadership concept (Fletcher, 2004) shared leadership has been seen as one of the opportunities to develop school leadership and transform the role of a school principal.

The discussion on shared or distributed leadership in the higher education sector has not been as vivid as in the field of school administration, most likely because its conceptual or practical differences with the collegialism or shared governance are difficult to define (cf. Burke, 2010). However, the concept is attracting the interest of higher education researchers, too (Zepke, 2007; Bolden, Petrov & Gosling, 2008; 2009). Kezar (2001) claims that in spite of the tradition of shared governance, true participatory leadership has been difficult to find on most campuses. Although acknowledging that distributive leadership is "never free from struggle or disappointment" Zepke (2007) takes the view that the relevance of distributive leadership in present accountability driven higher education is that it

...can play a considerable role, provided the meaning of accountability is reframed to mean being mutually responsible to all other actors in the higher education enterprise, rather than merely meeting auditable standards. (Zepke, 2007.)

On the other hand, Bolden et al. (2009) argue that distributive leadership as a higher education leadership concept might be important because of its rhetorical value, but as a description of leadership practises it hardly offers more explanatory value than the term leadership alone.

In conclusion it might be stated that Finnish UASs do not have a history of collegial decision-making. However, collaborative working practises are used and promoted and there seems to be pressure to increase those practises (Auvinen, 2008; Vuori, 2009). More pronounced ways of changing the organizational practises towards what could be called shared or distributed leadership might provide new approaches for UAS leadership.

In addition, it should also be noted, that the division and possible shifts in the divisions between the collegium i.e. the academic side and the bureaucracy i.e. the administrative side of the organization is not quite an appropriate way to describe

UAS organizations. Instead, it could be argued that the development through which the roles between manager-academics and professional managers are becoming more hybrid in universities (cf. Kogan, 2007, Whitchurch, 2006; 2008) closely resembles the existing practises of Finnish UASs. The work of a UAS program director is a good example of a hybrid managerial and multi-professional role. In addition to acting in a leadership position of UAS lecturers of the degree program, the work is a combination of “administrative” tasks such as budgeting, student selection and course management and “academic” matters, such as teaching, curriculum planning and pedagogical development. Moreover, because UASs are oriented to working life, the program director has most often an active role in local networks, co-operating with employers and other key stakeholders in the area.

3.1.4 The loosely-coupled nature of higher education organizations

A classic way to characterize the special features of (higher) education organizations is to look at them as loosely coupled systems (Weick, 1976). The basic idea of this theory is that organizations consist of different subsystems which are linked together. The link will be looser or tighter depending on whether the subsystems have common variables between them and whether the variables are important to them.

If there is responsiveness without distinctiveness, the system is tightly coupled. If there is distinctiveness without responsiveness the system is decoupled. If there is both distinctiveness and responsiveness, the system is loosely coupled.” (Orton & Weick, 1990.)

Higher education organizations are said to have many subsystems which are only loosely or moderately coupled. Examples include coupling between different departments, coupling between plans and outcomes, coupling between faculty and the environment. There is a link between these subsystems, because it provides some kind of order and reduces uncertainty (Ofawa & Scribner, 2002). However, the link between these subsystems in most higher education institutions cannot be called tight.

The coupling between the subsystems and the environment varies, too. The coupling between a specific subsystem and the environment may be much tighter than the coupling between the environment and the whole system. Thus, an adult education unit of a higher education system, for example, can have much tighter coupling with the environment than with the mother organization (Hölttä, 1995, p. 53).

The loose coupling theory has ample explanatory power for the peculiarities of higher education organizations (Weick, 1976; Orton & Weick, 1990). Firstly, it can be used to as an explanation of organizational *sensitivity*: because of its many independent sensing units, the sensing capacity multiplies. Secondly, the theory is useful in providing a framework to discuss organizational *adaptability*: the subsystems can react to a wider range of changes. Thirdly, the loose coupling theory illuminates organizational *persist-*

ence, because the organization is not shaken by smaller changes, although its subparts would be. Fourthly, the theory sheds light on the phenomenon of *buffering*: the trouble in the system can be isolated and prevented from spreading.

The theory of loosely coupled systems has also come in for criticism, mainly because it can be seen to portray a static picture of an organization and does not offer leaders or policymakers any advice how to improve it or how the couplings change over time (Fusarelli, 2002; Rowan, 2002; Meyer 2002).

The improvement of a loosely-coupled system is based on a cybernetic principle. The cybernetic principle maintains that there are self-correcting mechanisms which spontaneously bring the higher education institution back on course if something goes wrong. (Birnbaum, 1989, p. 179). Hölttä (1995, p. 63) provides an example: if the pressure to provide more adult education is seen to contradict the goals of academic departments, the cybernetic solution might call for the establishment of a separate adult education department. The adult education department could buy teaching from the departments but as a separate unit could be tighter coupled with the environment than the academic departments.

What would be gained if the theory of loosely coupled systems were used for an analysis of Finnish UASs? Or should UASs, because of the lack of history of shared governance and the relative absence of academic freedom be classified together with business-like organizations with tighter couplings?

Lampinen (2003, p. 11) argues that this might be the case. When discussing academic leadership within universities he refers to the theory of loosely coupled organizations and continues: "In this respect, more practically oriented higher education institutions, such as AMK institutions, are much closer to conventional organizations." This statement would imply that least the couplings between management and faculty are in Lampinen's view much tighter in UASs than in traditional universities.

Yet the research findings from UASs seem to contradict this statement and afford numerous examples of possible loose couplings in Finnish UASs. Both Salo (2002) and Savonmäki (2007) apply the theory of loosely coupled organizations to discuss the organizational contexts of UASs. Salo, who studied a former nursing school in the late experimental and early establishment stages of UAS history, suggests (2003, p. 278) that their loosely coupled nature might be the most fundamental and significant feature of educational organizations, the case study nursing school included. Salo emphasizes the loose coupling between teaching and learning and proposes that it might be the ultimate reason for the other loose couplings in an educational organization.

Savonmäki (2007, pp. 128–129) lists various loose couplings within UAS organizations. First of all, there are loose couplings between individual teachers². Teachers are in contact with each other but do not work collaboratively. The loose couplings seem to benefit everyone: the teachers have a right for their own space as long as it does not cause problems for anybody else. Savonmäki argues that teachers and their network relations are loosely coupled, too. Networks are important channels for getting information and

2. When writing in English Savonmäki (2005) prefers the term "teachers" to faculty or teaching staff. For this reason the term "teacher" is used here and in Figure 1.

for understanding one's own role in the organization, but teachers' work is not directly dependent on any network relations.

In addition, Savonmäki (2005; 2008, p. 107) considers that the teaching arena and the administrative arena are loosely coupled. Teachers' contacts with management are initiated through requests for resources or permission or through questions related to contracts. The role of management is not considered to be very significant; managerial decisions and their consequences are seen to be loosely coupled to the teaching arena. In other words, this would reflect the fundamental difference between the administration and the academics as suggested in Clark's (1983, p. 30–31) model of a matrix university structure. Savonmäki argues (2007, p. 116) that teachers' relationship with management is meaningful only as a way of ensuring sufficient resources. UAS teachers need to safeguard their own arena and make their own interpretations of management interests. This interpretation of loose couplings between UAS teachers' teaching, interactive and administrative arenas is illustrated in Figure 1 below.

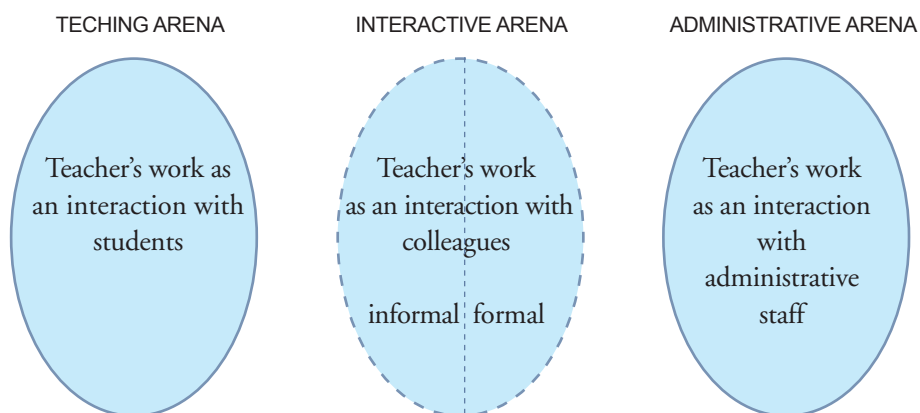


Figure 1. The three arenas of teachers' work

(sources: Savonmäki, 2005; Savonmäki 2007, p. 112)

Although not using the concept of loose couplings in a similar fashion to Salo and Savonmäki, other Finnish UAS researchers give numerous examples of possible loose couplings within UASs. Mäki (2000, p. 245) reports that the personnel was not “particularly well” aware of the expectations of UAS management. Antikainen (2005, p. 205) found that the strategic goals expressed by management and the everyday work experienced by faculty were quite apart from each other. According to Puusa's study (2007, p. 203) the top management and the UAS faculty had different views on the organization's core mission and objectives.

3.1.5 Institutional and disciplinary approaches to studying higher education cultures

Two major approaches to studying the culture of higher education organizations can be distinguished. The first is the study of institutional cultures, the second the analysis of disciplinary cultures. The institutional approach is favored in the American higher education literature whereas the European tradition seems to prefer the disciplinary approach. The institutional approach may be difficult to apply in European contexts, because of the impact of national higher education policies and national traditions have had on higher education systems. (Välimaa, 1998.)

The institutional culture approach provides a useful framework for understanding “who we are”, “what we stand for” and “what is the way we do things around here”. In addition, it provides answers for “how do we understand events” and “who is influential here”. (Toma, Dubrow & Hartley, 2005, p. 6). Institutional culture in higher education can be defined as

the collective, mutually supporting patterns of norms, values practises, beliefs, and assumptions that guide the behavior of individuals and groups in an institution of higher education and provide a frame of reference within which to interpret the meaning of events and action on and off campus. (Kuh & Whitt, 1988, pp. 12–13.)

The disciplinary cultural approach relates to the taxonomy of disciplines. In the taxonomy the subject matter of the discipline is evaluated by using the continuums hard – soft and pure – applied. The resulting categorization divides disciplines into four: *hard-pure sciences* (e.g. physics) *hard-applied sciences* (e.g. mechanical engineering,) *soft-pure sciences* (e.g. history) and *soft-applied sciences* (e.g. law). (Becher & Trowler, 2001, p. 36.) In addition, the disciplines are grouped using the continua convergent – divergent and urban – rural. *Convergent* refers to the extent to which a discipline maintains reasonably uniform standards and procedures with a stable elite and intellectual control (e.g. mathematics) whereas *divergent* disciplines tolerate more intellectual deviance (e.g. sociology). The *rural* and *urban* sciences differ in the people-to-problem ratio. In urban disciplines the research territory tends to be narrow and there are many researchers working on it (e.g. physics) whereas in rural disciplines the research area is much larger, but the problems are thinly scattered and researchers often work alone (e.g. economics). (Becher & Trowler, 2001, pp. 185–188.)

These classifications can be used for ranking different disciplines. The most favored disciplines tend to be those that are pure, hard and urban, whereas the disciplines which do not meet these criteria i.e. applied, soft and rural sciences seem to be most unpopular in the academic pecking order. (Becher & Trowler, 2001, p. 192). The taxonomy of disciplinary cultures has been applied to the study of a wide range of different aspects of university life. In addition to explaining the differences in research, or the orientation between teaching and research, it has been used to explain some of the differences in the teaching and student orientations, student assessment and postgraduate education. There

have also been studies investigating the relationship between the disciplinary differences and personnel development, orientations to quality issues and job satisfaction. (Becher & Trowler, 2001, pp. 21–22; pp. 195–197.) Finnish higher education researchers have been active in this area of research (Kekäle, 1999; 2001; Ylijoki, 1998; 2000; Hakala & Ylijoki, 2001).

Kekäle's study was conducted at Finnish universities in the 1990s. Kekäle (2001) studied academic leadership in the context of disciplinary cultures in four different disciplines in four departments at two different universities. Kekäle was able to connect the taxonomy of disciplinary cultures with the preference for certain type of leadership and concluded:

...although there may not be one best way to lead an academic department, it is certainly not irrelevant how an individual chooses to lead. Departmental academic leadership involves a complex network of influences, pressures and possibilities. The knowledge of this field, as well as an ability to work with both its symbolic and concrete, established and ambiguous aspects seems to be a crucial ingredient in defining good leadership practises, to identifying future priorities, or to overcome previous problems. (Kekäle, 2001, p. 173.)

Whether the taxonomy of disciplinary cultures can be used to analyze Finnish UASs is a controversial question. In their studies both Jaatinen and Mäki refer to the theory, and do not seem to question the idea of “discipline” in connection with UAS. Jaatinen (1999) studied the cultures in different educational fields at one AMK institution. She concluded that not only did the cultures in different study fields differ from each other, but no culture was consistent with the official organizational culture. In her study Jaatinen (1999, p. 206) quotes both Becher and Kekäle and concludes that the cultural differences in different study fields are at least partly based on their different disciplinary backgrounds. Mäki (2000, pp. 239–241) found that the methods of collaboration and teamwork vary in different educational fields. In addition, the quality orientations varied by different educational fields, too. According to her, these differences should be respected and taken into account when building quality management systems.

Following to the way Jaatinen and Mäki have already paved for the application of framework of disciplinary cultures to UASs is tempting. There are, however, several points to be considered. Both researchers acknowledge that the separateness of the units might partly explain the differences i.e. geographical separation and not the discipline may have an effect on the differences in organizational cultures. In Jaatinen's study the field of business education is a good example with three institutes at different locations. One of the institutes was categorized to have a reactive organizational culture, the second as a borderline case between reactive and responsive culture and the third as having a responsive culture. In other words, the “discipline” or the educational field, as in this case, has not been as important as the geographical distance, at least at that stage of the maturity of the UAS.

When referring to Becher, albeit only in passing, neither Jaatinen nor Mäki seem to pay attention to the challenges of applying the concept of discipline or the taxonomy of disciplinary cultures into Finnish UASs. However, UASs' degree programs are orientated to professions, not to academic substances or knowledge specialities (cf. Clark, 1983, p. 16). For this reason it could be argued that disciplines at universities and educational fields at UASs are not quite comparable with each other. A degree program in business studies, for example, would most likely employ faculty with various disciplinary backgrounds: in accounting, marketing, economics, business administration, law, mathematics, communication and languages.

There is yet another obvious challenge when applying the Becherian taxonomy of disciplinary cultures to Finnish UASs. All UAS degree programs and study fields represent by their very definition the applied part of the continuum. Most programs and study fields would also rather represent the soft than the hard end of the continuum. In other words, the explanatory power of comparing different study fields with Becherian taxonomy would most likely be limited to comparing soft and applied study fields together with soft and applied study fields.

Mäki (2000, p. 276) points out that the reason for the variation between educational fields might simply be that at the time of her survey, the culture was still quite young and speculates that if the survey had been repeated later, the results might be different. This comment will gain further proof when the research findings of Antikainen (2005, p. 147) are taken into consideration. Antikainen used the same survey instrument as Mäki, but a few years later and at another UAS. Antikainen did not find any statistically significant variations between the study fields.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from these findings is that no simple answers can be found. There seem to be differences between the cultures of different educational fields, but there are also many other things that might explain the variation (location, gender, organizational history). Välimaa (1998) concluded: "Culture may also be problematic as a general framework of analysis because it has to include as many elements of higher education institutions as possible".

A third possible approach is to study UAS cultures using the metaphor of moving mosaic (Mäki & Saranpää, 2010, pp. 12–13; Kotila & Mäki, 2008). According to this approach UAS organizational cultures consist of many parallel yet simultaneous and sometimes overlapping working cultures. The origin of some of these working cultures might be found in the different educational fields, different environments or even in different people and their mutual chemistry. UASs' organizational members need to perform in working cultures in UASs' external environments, too, and they need to be able to shift constantly between different working cultures. For these reasons, UAS organizations could be called "moving mosaic" organizations.

The metaphor of the moving mosaic does not only convey the message that an organizational member belongs to many concurrent subcultures (cf. Toma et al., 2005, p. 52), but indicates that the working culture of a UAS organizational member is so fragmented that the efforts to manage the culture from either the institutional or the basic unit level would be difficult, if not impossible. This kind of an organization is

flexible, dynamic and receptive, but in its indefiniteness also vulnerable and prone to conflicts. (Kotila & Mäki, 2008).

3.1.6 Conclusion

This chapter discussed whether the special features of higher education organizations presented in the higher education literature could be used to characterize Finnish UAS organizations. It was concluded that the decision-making at UASs shares many features used to portray the ambiguous and diffuse decision-making presented in the higher education literature. UASs have undeniably many goals which can be seen to conflict with each other and the final evaluation of whether those goals were reached might present difficulties at UASs, too. Despite the managerialistic ethos and a drive towards increasing accountability, it can be argued that Finnish UASs at their present stage cannot be regarded as tightly coupled organizations but could be better understood by paying attention to the loose couplings between the parts of the system. This would indicate that the solutions needed for the leadership of UASs cannot be directly imported from more conventional organizations, e.g. for business organizations in which the goals are clear and easily measured and the couplings between the sub-systems of the organization much tighter.

However, the leadership practises suitable for Finnish UASs cannot be directly imported from traditional universities, either. There are characteristic differences between traditional universities and UASs. In this chapter it was argued that academic freedom is a controversial concept if applied to Finnish UASs, although at the institutional level autonomy is guaranteed by legislation. In addition, it was concluded, that collegial decision-making or shared governance is not used at Finnish UASs, however, the collaborative working practises are very much emphasized and could lead to even more pronounced shared working practises in the future. In addition, it was acknowledged that even though the traditions and working practises of different educational fields have much influence on how the organizational culture(s) of UASs could be constructed, it is challenging to use the concept of discipline in connection with Finnish UASs. For this reason the disciplinary approach to the analysis of UAS working cultures would present challenges.

In other words this chapter has aimed at elucidating how UAS organizations should be regarded as a unique leadership context and that leadership models or practises either belonging the business sector, traditional universities or former post-secondary institutions are not always suitable for examination of it. More research ought to be carried out emphasizing and taking into account the special characteristics and challenges of the context. In order to contribute to this line of interest, this study will discuss the program leadership context at Finnish UASs. In order to position the study in the field of higher education leadership research, the following chapter will discuss its various paradigms.

3.2 Leadership in higher education organizations

Leadership can be studied through different paradigms, each paradigm containing profoundly different assumptions regarding the leadership phenomenon (Kezar, Carducci & Contreras-McGavin, 2006, p. 16). The paradigms are 1) positivist, 2) constructivist, 3) critical and 4) post-modern. Positivists argue that there is a phenomenon of leadership which is there to be discovered as an objective and shared reality. The representatives of constructivist, critical and post-modern paradigms deny this. Constructivists hold that leadership is constructed in the minds of people, thus no single interpretation of the phenomenon can be provided. The representatives of the critical and post-modern paradigms study perceptions like the constructivists, but in a critical way. Whereas the representatives of the critical paradigm regard their subjects as victims of those in power, postmodernists focus on the ability of people to shape their experience. Table 4 briefly describes the major assumptions and values behind these four paradigms, their implications for leadership research and their limitations. The following chapters will then discuss each paradigm in greater detail.

Table 4. Leadership paradigms

(source: modified from Kezar et al., 2006, p. 16)

Paradigm	Positivist	Constructivist	Critical	Post-modern
Major assumptions	Leadership is a social reality that can be described, has an essence; leadership has generalizable qualities and predictable outcomes.	Leadership is a social construction; subjective experience affects how leadership emerges; culture and context have significant effects on leadership, an ever-evolving concept that has changed over time.	Leadership has a history of oppression and should be viewed with suspicion; it is typically used by those in power as a means of maintaining authority and control; it is possible for leadership to serve a broader goal of social change if power dynamics are watched carefully and new language will be used	Leadership has been an expression of the will to wield power but is more complicated than that generalization; it is a contingent, human construction affected by local conditions, history, and the ambiguity and complexity of the human experience, it is a reflection of human identity shaped by history.
Purpose of research	To predict leader outcomes based on behavior, to develop generalizable principles to help direct the action and behavior of leaders	To interpret and understand what people perceive or attribute to leadership; to help leaders in understanding their frameworks and how their perspectives as leaders affect the leadership process	To develop representations and strategies of leadership that are empowering and create social change	To question the concept of leadership itself; to examine whether it is merely the will to wield power; to explore whether certain complex conditions can result in leadership.
Approach to research	Survey of leader traits, behaviors, and influence strategies	Interviews with leaders in a particular setting, surveys of perceptions of followers, study interaction of leaders and followers	Case study and ethnography of leadership contexts focused on power dynamics and interactions	Case study and ethnography of leadership contexts focused on power dynamics and interactions
Role of values	Neutral stance on values	Values seen as shifting based on perspectives and situations	Values believed central for creating leadership that empowers and creates social change	Values questioned as inherently serving some power interest
Criticisms or limitations	Fails to acknowledge the influence of context, culture, and individual differences on leadership; limited ability to create universal or general principles of leadership	Provides few specific directives for action; does not examine the role of power	Does not emphasize effectiveness or outcomes important for societal and organizational survival	Provides few specific directives for action; some question whether the global economy and post-modern condition truly exist

These paradigms will be discussed in the following sub-chapters in connection with higher education leadership. The positivist paradigm will be discussed in Chapter 3.2.1, the constructivist paradigm in Chapter 3.2.2 and the critical and post-modern paradigms in Chapter 3.2.3. It should, however, be noted, that in practice, the paradigms and the research orientations are not always as clear and divided as the forthcoming might suggest. Different orientations often overlap and many leadership studies could be classified under more than one label. The discussion below is strongly based on the categorization made in the classic “Making Sense of Administrative Leadership: The L-word in Higher Education” by Bensimon, Neuman and Birnbaum in 1989 and its updated version by Kezar et al. “Rethinking the L-word in Higher Education: The Revolution of Research on Leadership” in 2006. Schwandt (2003) suggested that it might be a uniquely American tendency to label complex theoretical frameworks as either this or that. I doubt if we in Europe are any less inclined to labeling at least when it comes to leadership research. Although sometimes very arbitrary, labeling is one way of finding one’s own position on the map of vast opportunities in leadership research.

3.2.1 The positivist paradigm

Positivism assumes that universal truths can be discovered and knowledge is generalizable. A positivist researcher believes that it is possible to discover a singular, objective and shared reality. Positivist leadership researchers aim at discovering the generalizable principles that guide leader behavior. In addition, positivists make predictions on their effect on outcomes. The idea is that predictions are needed in order to control human situations. The early theories of leadership emphasized positivist assumptions: trait and behavioral theories (Stogdill, 1948; Mann, 1959; McGregor, 1960/2006; Blake & Mouton, 1978) tried to discover the traits and behavior of an ideal leader assuming that traits and behavior are interpreted universally by all followers and assuming that these behaviors are applicable in all situations. The assumption behind power and influence theories was similar: power processes were thought to be universal and interpreted by everybody in a similar manner. Although transformational leadership theory (Burns, 1978; Bass, 1985) differs from the other positivist theories because it begins to conceptualize leadership as a process, most studies on transformational leadership still focus on hierarchy and positional leaders. (Kezar et al., 2006, pp. 35–38).

All positivist leadership theories assume that leaders exist in a certain and rational world. In addition, they presume that people, processes and structures can be described and analyzed and thus made more effective. Even contingency theories (Fieldler, Chemers & Mahar, 1976; Hersey, 1984; Vroom & Yetton, 1973) which pay very much attention to the leadership context, still assume that situations are perceived identically by different individuals in the same context. The positivist leadership paradigm favors quantitative research tools for empirical studies. (Kezar et al., 2006, p. 18; Bensimon et al., 1989.) Table 5 groups the leadership theories under the positivist paradigm.

Table 5. Leadership theories within the positivist paradigm

(Sources: Yukl, 2006; Bensimon et al., 1989; Kezar et al., 2006)

Theory	Aim	Critique
Trait theories	Try to capture which specific traits make leaders effective. Discuss physical characteristics, personality traits, social background and abilities of people who were believed to be "natural leaders".	1) Possession of such traits or skills does not guarantee effectiveness/absence of such traits or skills does not lead to ineffectiveness 2) Cause and effect relationships are problematic 3) Situational factors were ignored
Behavioral theories	Are interested in what leaders do in order to be effective. Study the activities that have lead to desired outcomes and behaviors for particular situations.	1) Direction of causality is problematic, the subordinates influence the leadership context 2) No agreement among behavior categorization systems 3) Questionnaires measure limited range of behaviors 4) Behaviors generic: applicable to all types of leaders and organizations
Contingency theories	Focus on how effective leadership requires adapting leadership style to situational factors (tasks, followers' characteristics)	1) Do not pay attention to leadership processes that transform the way followers see themselves and their work 2) Ambiguous concepts make research difficult 3) Hard to apply into practise
Power and influence theories	Try to find out what is the source and amount of power available to leaders and how it is used. See leadership as a social exchange process characterized by the acquisition and demonstration of power.	1) Lack conceptual clarity and are difficult to measure empirically 2) Represent directive and hierarchical views of leadership

Positivist leadership paradigm in higher education research

Positivist leadership theories have been popular in higher education research, too. Trait theories have been used in studies describing efficient higher education leaders (e.g. Kerr & Gade, 1986; Trocchia & Andrus, 2003). Bensimon et al. (1989, pp. 35–36) provide a list of personal attributes, interpersonal abilities and technical management skills which have been identified through the application of trait theories to the study of academic leadership prior to 1989. According to this list, effective higher education leaders display humor, courage, judgment, integrity, intelligence, persistence, hard work and vision. In addition, higher education leaders are said to be opportunity-conscious, open, goal-oriented and compassionate as well as able to produce results, resolve conflicts, analyze and evaluate problems, shape the work environment and build teams. Birnbaum (1992,

p. 37) argues that the traits which have been found important in one study are negated by another study and concludes: "Effective and ineffective academic leaders come in all sizes shapes, colours, genders, levels of experience, and personalities." Recent findings of leadership trait studies in higher education emphasize relational, caring and collaborative higher education leader traits (Kezar et al., 2006, pp. 103–104).

Behavioral theories of leadership have been very popular in higher education settings, too. Not only the presidents, but deans, department heads and administrators have been focused on in these studies. Data for these studies have been gathered e.g. by collecting diary entries, leaders' self-reports, narratives of critical leadership incidents as well as questionnaires. Bryman (2007) reviewed empirical studies on the leadership effectiveness of department heads for the period of 1985–2005. He is very sceptical regarding whether such lists should be used to build competency models for department-level leadership: "Knowing that one has to cultivate personal integrity may be useful, but how one goes about establishing and maintaining it is a different matter".

The findings of these studies were grouped by Bryman (2007) in the following categories of department head behavior: 1) Clear sense of direction/strategic vision, 2) Preparing department arrangements to facilitate the direction set, 3) Being considerate, 4) Treating academic staff fairly and with integrity, 5) Being trustworthy and having personal integrity, 6) Allowing the opportunity to participate in key decisions/encouraging open communication 7) Communicating well about the direction the department is going in, 8) Acting as a role model/having credibility, 9) Creating a positive/collegial work atmosphere in the department, 10) Advancing the department's cause with respect to constituencies internal and external to the university and being proactive in doing so, 11) Providing feedback on performance, 12) Providing resources for and adjusting workloads to stimulate scholarship and research, 13) Making academic appointments that enhance the department's reputation.

Bryman (2007) offers several kinds of criticism of this approach. Firstly, the behaviors are quite general, and secondly, they occasionally contradict each other. Thirdly, the validity of the list can be questioned because it does not take into account the context, i.e. successful behavior in one higher education institution or department might not work in another. Fourthly, university departments include many kinds of leadership: both formal and informal, and sometimes even shared. Fifthly, as Bryman points out, higher education leadership appointments are often temporary i.e. it is difficult to estimate whether the positive outcomes are really due to the present department head or if in fact their origin was to be traced to the competency of a previous department head.

In addition to the strand of behavioral leadership studies aiming to define the ideal characteristics of leaders, there is a strand of studies investigating what higher education leaders are actually doing. As Mignot-Gerard (2003) argues "by looking at how university leaders should behave rather than how they actually behave, it gives a prospective, de-contextualised image of leadership." Although most often quoted because of its theoretical insights on organizational theory Cohen and March's "Leadership Ambiguity: The American College President" (1974) is one example of this research tradition giving empirical data illuminating the careers and work of American college presidents. Other

examples include a large study of American university and college deans (Wolverton, Wolverton & Gmelch, 1999) which aimed at providing a baseline of information on the work of deans and Eriksson's (1997) study on Swedish department heads. Among other aspects, these studies provide practical information on the challenges higher education leaders face in their everyday work. Eriksson (1997, pp. 53–55), for example, found that the department heads were interrupted once in every 11 minutes and that most of the tasks they performed lasted less than 15 minutes.

Contingency theories discuss how leadership styles are effectively adapted to situational factors. The studies by Bland, Center, Finstad, Risbey and Staples (2005), Del Favero (2005) and Stark, Briggs and Rowland-Poplawski (2002) could serve as examples of discussing higher education leadership in connection with context variables. Bensimon et al. (1989, p. 45) state that contingency studies are particularly relevant when examining department level leadership. However, they suggest that

These theories essentially say that no single approach to leadership is the best, but at the same time not all approaches are equally effective. The answer to the question what is effective leadership is "It all depends". (Bensimon et al., 1989, p.15.)

Power and influence theories may be divided into two lines of inquiry: the first line examines social power and the second social exchange theories. The latter pays attention to the reciprocal processes between the leader and the follower, whereas social power theories investigate leadership from the point of view of the leader. Social power theory has been popular in discussing the social power of college presidents (e.g. Levin, 1998). However, most higher education leadership studies which fall into the group of power and influence theories are studies in which the transformational leadership theory is applied. Transformational leadership theory belongs to the group of social exchange theories.

The idea behind the transformational leadership theory is that followers feel trust, admiration, loyalty, and respect toward transformational leaders, and for that reason they are motivated to do more than they originally expected to do. In other words, in order to reach organizational performance beyond expectations, followers need to transcend their own interests. According to this theory transformation is possible if the leader exhibits transformational behaviors: idealized influence (charisma), individualized consideration, inspirational motivation and intellectual stimulation. Transformational leaders are said to provide their followers with a sense of purpose, not just rewards. In addition to transformational leadership qualities, effective leaders display transactional leadership behavior, too. Transactional leadership is based on motivating people in exchange for specific rewards. (Bass, 1985.) The leader behavior dimensions of transformational leadership theory have been widely been tested in different organizational settings and cultures and constantly modified with a research instrument the Multifactor Leadership Theory (MLT) Questionnaire and its many modifications (see e.g. Avolio et al., 1999).

The value of transformational leadership theory has been widely contested. Firstly, its theoretical relevance is questioned, because the theory does not sufficiently explain the influence mechanisms (Yukl, 2006, pp. 272–274). Secondly, the theory is criticized

because of the concept of charisma. Charisma as explained by the theory is a behavior that is very difficult to develop if one is not born with it. This would mean that the pool of potential leaders is limited. (Mujis, Harris, Lumby, Morrison & Sood, 2006). Thirdly, as Mujis et al. (2006) argue, strong transformational leadership often coincides with resistance from staff because strong leaders are often seen to provoke resistance.

Transformational leadership theory has its critics and advocates in the field of higher education leadership, too. Birnbaum (1988, p. 205) does not believe that transformational leadership is needed in higher education in the same way as it is useful in other organizational settings. However, he concedes that transformational leadership might be needed 1) when institutions are in crisis, 2) in small institutions, 3) when institutions are so old-fashioned that comparisons with other institutions can be used to accelerate change, and 4) when the trustees support authoritative leadership. Birnbaum argues: "Leaders who use transactional leadership may be more successful in attaining transformational effects than leaders whose behavior reflects the pure form of transformational leadership."

The criticism of transformational leadership has also been raised by Knight and Trowler (2000). According to them the idea of transformational leadership is "based upon the heroic figure of a (male) charismatic visionary brimming over with leadership qualities (self-confidence, energy, initiative) and whom others are proud to follow". They point out that "such figures may be thin on the ground in university contexts".

The advocates of transformational leadership theory suggest that transformational leadership is needed in colleges and universities as much as it is needed in any other organizations (Pounder, 2001; Ramsden, 1998, p. 78; Ramsden et al., 2007). The empirical study of higher education leadership using the transformational leadership theory has also been popular. Neumann and Neumann (1999) used transformational leadership theory in their study of American college presidents' strategic leadership and concluded that transformational leadership affects the college bottom line. Brown and Moshavi (2002) used the Multifactor Leadership Theory (MLT) Questionnaire with 440 faculty members in 70 different academic departments and found that the charisma factor of transformational leadership was predictive of desired organizational outcomes. Martin, Trigwell, Prosser and Ramsden (2003) used transformational leadership theory in an Australian study to demonstrate that there is a relationship between university teachers' perceptions of leadership and the quality of students' learning experiences. In other words, a leader who was regarded to be a transformational leader was able to influence the lecturers so that they aspired to support student learning. In a later study, Ramsden et al. (2007) were able to prove this link: students' experienced learning quality is linked to the university teachers' experiences of the leadership i.e. a transformational leader affects teachers who affect students.

In Finland transformational leadership theory has been chosen as the theoretical framework of dissertations discussing higher education leadership both at universities (Anyamele, 2004) and at UASs (Nikander, 2003; Antikainen, 2005).

3. The term university teacher instead of academic staff/faculty member used by Martin et al., 2003

3.2.2 The constructivist paradigm

Whereas positivism attempts to find universal truths, constructivism rejects the search for universal qualities and believes that reality is developed through individual interpretation of the word. The role of the researcher is acknowledged to be partial because there is no such thing as objective reality. The focus in constructivist research is on individual perception, multiple realities, meaning making, perception, interaction and context. Language and discourse are important elements of constructivist analysis. Studying leadership through a constructivist lens means that leadership is seen to be a social construct which has been developed through interaction and people's own experiences. (Kezar et al., 2006, pp. 19–21). The constructivist paradigm in leadership research is seen in two different orientations: the cultural and symbolic leadership theories and the cognitive leadership theories.

Cultural and symbolic leadership theories hold that people in organizations develop shared meanings that influence their perceptions and activities. Cultural and symbolic leadership theories examine values, meaning, interpretation, history and context in leadership processes. The shared meanings define the organization's culture, the unquestioned assumptions of the organization and its environment. In this approach, the job of the leader is to manage the culture to the direction of the organization's strategy. Leadership can be seen to be "the management of meaning". Instead of focusing on the leader, the emphasis of the cultural and symbolic leadership theories is on the organizational or even broader social system level. (Bensimon et al., 1989, p. 21; Kezar et al., 2006, pp. 50–51).

Cognitive leadership theorists are interested in the thought and interpretation processes of people involved in the leadership process. Cognitive leadership theories can be valued for three reasons: 1) they recognize cognitive processes which have not been studied by earlier leadership theories 2) because of their constructivist emphasis they welcome studies in which interpretation and subjective experience play an important role 3) they demystify the importance of the leader and focus on leadership as a process. It is also to be noted that leaders themselves might see cognitive emphasis welcome, because leadership according to this approach is something they can control and improve. (Kezar et al., 2006, pp. 46–47).

The constructivist paradigm in higher education leadership research

The idea of a leader as a meaning maker has been popular in higher education research, too. Classic studies in this field have been conducted e.g. by Dill (1982), Chaffee (1984), Kerr and Gade (1986) and Birnbaum (1989). Gioia and Chittipeddi (1991) wrote a much quoted article on strategic management based on an empirical study in a large public university demonstrating the importance of sensemaking and sensegiving in efforts to expedite organizational change.

Lately, for example Askling and Stensaker (2002) have argued that higher education leadership could be seen as a process of making sense in confusing and sometimes contradictory situations. They suggest that if problems cannot be solved, it might be best to learn how to live with them and that it might be more advisable for a higher education leader to highlight the apparent organizational paradoxes instead of attempting to solve them. In addition, Stensaker (1999), in his study of external assessments in Norwegian university and college departments emphasized the symbolic role of the leaders as translators, interpreters and meaning providers. Kempner (2003), too, used a cultural research orientation to analyze the role of the community college president.

Cognitive oriented leadership research is divided into three strands: attribution theories, learning theories and the study of mental models. Attribution theories argue that leadership is illusory, not real, and people attribute certain processes and actions to those who are in leadership positions. Thus leaders serve as an explanation for what is happening in organizations as well as sometimes as scapegoats. (Kezar et al., 2006, p. 20). Learning theories are interested in the learning processes involved in leadership whereas mental models frameworks are concerned with the cognitive maps of leaders or followers.

Examples of the applications of attribution theory to higher education leadership are hard to find, but a number of studies (e.g. Henkel, 2002; Deem et al. 2007; Hellowell & Hancock, 2001) which discuss the career orientations and identity of higher education leaders might be included in the group of studies concerning the learning processes of the leaders.

The cognitive approach to leadership has been very popular in higher education research. One of the major strands of cognitive leadership studies in higher education is the application of reframing theory, which originated in Bolman and Deal's model of leadership frames. This model, as explained in the introduction, will be used as the theoretical framework of the present study and will be further explained in Chapter 4.

3.2.3 Critical and post-modern paradigms

The critical paradigm in leadership studies examines the hidden assumptions and power dynamics in leadership processes. Critical leadership researchers focus their attention on the questions of feminism, racial inequalities in leadership or traditional notions of authority, for example. These researchers see their studies as a form of activism to change the power dynamics in society. (Kezar et al., 2006, pp. 21–23.).

Like constructivists, postmodernists do not believe in universal truths. Like constructivists, they are interested in studying perceptions, but approach them critically. Whereas the representatives of the critical paradigm regard their subjects as victims of those in power, postmodernists focus on the ability of people to shape their experience. Postmodernist leadership researchers question whether any form of leadership can be universal. (Kezar et al., 2006, pp. 23–25.)

Chaos and complexity theorists imply that leadership research should not only consider leaders as individuals but should examine the dynamic, complex systems that comprise leadership. Thus chaos and complexity theories of leadership could be regarded to represent the post-modern paradigm of leadership. Advocates of complexity leadership theory such as Uhl Bien, Marion and McKelvey (2007) argue that leadership models of the last century are not appropriate for a knowledge-oriented economy. They contend that traditional leadership theories promote top-down management which could impede companies' innovativeness and adaptation to their environment.

The research methods that are suitable for examining complex, dynamic leadership should be able to capture the time and temporal dynamics of the dynamic leadership concept. Traditional cross-sectional surveys are not adequate to cover the everyday interactions between different organizational members. Suitable study methods can be grouped into three categories: 1) micro-level interactions can be studied using real-time observation, 2) meso-level interactions across days and weeks can be examined by social network analysis, 3) macro-level interactions lasting for weeks or months could be approached through event history analysis. (Dooley & Lichtenstein, 2008, pp. 272–288.) In addition, mathematical and computational models could be appropriate tools for studying complex leadership theory (Hazy, Millhiser & Solow, 2007).

Kezar et al. (2006, p. 43) argue that the empirical study of complexity and chaos theory are difficult because the consequences of particular leader actions should be examined at all levels (followers, teams, culture, external environment) simultaneously. They conclude: "If complexity is hard to operationalize in practise and difficult to study, is it a valuable approach?"

Critical and post-modern paradigms in higher education leadership research

The critical paradigm has been applied to higher education leadership in a context with women leaders and leaders representing ethnic minorities (Kezar et al., 2006, p. 102). The position of women and minorities in higher education and higher education leadership has attracted the interest of many researchers (e.g. Kezar, 2000; Kezar et al., 2008; Gunluk-Senesen, 2009; Haake, 2005; 2009; Deem, 2003, Özkanli & White, 2008). The voice of critical higher research is particularly apparent in the writing of researchers who look at the effects of managerialism in higher education in a critical light (e.g. Parker & Jary, 1995; Prichard & Willmot, 1997; Anderson, 2008.)

Gilstrap (2005) applies modern complexity theory to higher education and sees higher education institutions as complex adaptive systems, which are "attuned to the emergence of the bottom-up, self-organizing principles of dissipative structures." In addition to the concept of emergence, which is used to describe the coming-into-being of new, higher-level structures, patterns, processes, properties, dynamics and laws, the vocabulary of complex adaptive systems discusses the role of different attractors. Complex, non-equilibrium driven adaptive systems should use strange attractor metaphors, such as shared vision and team processes. Gilstrap concludes that by assessing the powers of

strange attractor metaphors “we can transform our understanding and description of educational leadership and pedagogical ontology in ways that more accurately convey the environments within which we teach and lead.”

Another recent study applying complexity leadership theory to higher education is Randall and Coakley's (2007) examination of the adaptive leadership model developed by Heifetz (Heifetz & Linsky, 2002). Instead of focusing on the leader, adaptive leadership focuses on the leadership process. Heifetz and Linsky (2002, p. 14) distinguish between technical and adaptive leadership problems. Technical problems are well defined whereas adaptive problems are not, thus the solutions cannot be known beforehand. Heifetz et al. (2004) propose a six-step plan to approach adaptive challenges which in Randall and Coakley's study (2007) is applied to two case studies discussing colleges that have encountered problems to demonstrate that Heifetz's model can be applied to explain both the successes and failures of academic organizations.

3.2.4 Conclusion

As illustrated in the previous subchapters, higher education leadership research has closely followed the research orientations of general leadership study. Following the positivistic orientation there is a strand of studies concentrating on the behavioral issues of leadership which investigates what it is that leaders do and should do. Discussion on leader competences is the modern guise of this orientation. The search for ideal behavior is rationalized with the argument that if ideal behavior could be defined, the results could be exploited both in the recruitment and in training of future leaders.

As discussed above, the question of the value of transformational leadership has been contested. Its advocates argue that higher education institutions will not develop without transformative leadership whereas its critics claim that because of the special characteristics of higher education organizations transformational (strong, hero-like) leadership is not necessarily suitable in higher education organizations and can, in fact, cause adverse effects and opposition from the faculty.

Critical and post-modern paradigms have also been applied to higher education leadership research. Nevertheless, because of the challenges inherent in the appropriate research methods, the number of studies applying the complexity theories to higher education leadership research has so far been limited.

The constructivist approach has been and continues to be one of the most favored paradigms for studying leadership within higher education organizations. The critics of this approach, who are most often advocates of the positivistic research paradigm, naturally question the value of studying the meanings and individual perceptions attached to leadership. The critics might claim that it is the task of researchers to find “how things are” and to form universal rules that can be applied anywhere.

This study, however, will take a constructivist approach and does not propose to find universal truths about program directors' leadership. Instead it tries to illuminate

the different meanings these position holders attach to their work. Thus it provides one of the possible interpretations of the meanings of program directors' work in Finnish UASs. The constructivist approach will be further discussed in Chapter 5. Chapter 4 will introduce Bolman and Deal's reframing theory, which, as explained above, is a cognitive leadership theory and represents the constructivist paradigm in leadership research.

4

Reframing theory

4.1 Reframing theory

As stated in the previous chapter, Bolman and Deal's reframing theory is a cognitive leadership theory and represents the constructivist paradigm of leadership studies. For constructivists, organizations and leadership are not something which can be "fixed if broken", but are phenomena constructed in the minds of individuals.

Reframing theory is also referred to as the four-frame model of leadership or as multiframe theory. Bolman and Deal are said to have created the theory when they were jointly planning a course on organizational thinking at Harvard University and arguing about course content. According to this legend, in order to settle their mutual dispute they created an organizational theory which would satisfy both (Bolman & Deal, 2003, p. xxvi). In reframing theory Bolman and Deal attempt to incorporate different schools of organizational thought into a coherent theory of organization and leadership. As a consolidating frame for different kinds of organizational thought Bolman and Deal's reframing theory bears a close resemblance to the ideas presented in Morgan's "Images of Organization" (1986/1997)¹.

Bolman and Deal's first book reframing theory was published as "Modern Approaches to Understanding and Managing Organizations" in 1984. In 1991 Bolman and Deal published the first edition of "Reframing Organizations: Artistry, Choice, and Leader-

1. Morgan (1997) incorporates different schools of organizational theory discussing different metaphors for organizations. These metaphors are: organizations as machines, organizations as organisms, organizations as brains, organizations as cultures, organizations as political systems, organization as psychic prisons, organization as flux and transformation, and organizations as instruments of domination.

ship” (Bolman & Deal, 1991a). Revising the contents to include updated case studies, the following editions were published in 1997, 2003 and 2008².

4.1.1 Key concepts in reframing theory

A key concept in reframing theory is the concept of a frame. In Bolman and Deal’s theory a frame is a cognitive framework, a lens which helps us to determine what is important and what is not, what to see, what to do, what information to collect, and how to define problems. Bolman and Deal do not claim to have invented the concept, but acknowledge the work of John Dewey and Erving Goffman as sources of inspiration. (Bolman & Deal, 2008, p. 10).³ Bolman and Deal (2008, pp. 10–11) offer many synonyms for frames and refer to them as maps, windows, tools, filters, prisms, images, schemata, frames of reference, perspectives, orientations, lenses and mindshapes.

Leadership frames are used in a variety of ways: to solve problems, to interpret events, to ignore matters that can be safely disregarded. The frames influence what questions are asked, which information to collect, how problems are defined and what courses of action should be taken (Bolman & Deal, 2008, pp. 11–12). Bolman and Deal argue that the leadership frame is a key to understand leadership: frames influence what leaders see and what they do.

The frames select different aspects of organizational behavior on which to focus, but at the same time they also function as cognitive blinders: whatever is out of frame may be ignored or not seen at all. The nature of frames is self-fulfilling: through their use explanations that justify their point are developed, even though the perspective does not work. When a frame does not fit the organization or the circumstances, a leader is trapped in misconceptions. Instead of responding to the circumstances, the frame freezes leaders to respond in a certain way (Bolman & Deal, 2008, p. 13). Instead of fitting the frame to the situations, leaders might shape the situation to fit their preferred conception (Bolman & Deal, 2008, p. 40).

According to Bolman and Deal (2008, p. 12), leaders should therefore be able to reframe, i.e. to break the existing frame and see the organization through a different kind of lens. Multiframing means an ability to use a variety of different frames. The major thesis in Bolman and Deal’s theory is that multiframing makes leadership more effective. Leaders who are able to use multiple frames are likely to be more flexible in responding to different administrative tasks because they are able to enact different images of their organization and provide different interpretations of events. A leader capable of multiframing may be able to fulfil the many, and often conflicting, expectations of the stakeholders. Multiframing is thus seen to be an essential skill in complex

2. This study refers to the page numbers in the 2008 edition in the first place. If, however, there is content or emphasis in the earlier editions or article of particular interest, those are used as references.

3. Goffman (1986, p. 10) defines a frame: “I assume that definitions of situation are built up in accordance with principals of organization which govern events (...) and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify”

environments and also when the leader tries to bring about change in the organization. (Bolman & Deal, 2008, pp. 18–19.)

Bolman and Deal's ideas of reframing resemble Karl Weick's concepts of sensemaking and mindfulness. Sensemaking, according to Weick (1995, pp. 133–134), refers to an individual's or group's effort to connect beliefs and actions. A sensemaking process starts when the experienced state of affairs is not the expected state of affairs, in other words, at the moment when expectations are interrupted. Expectations in Weick and Sutcliffe's (2001, pp. 44–45) view, are based on categories of mind. Without these categories each experience would be unique, and each action would need to be invented. Categories help us to see and predict what will happen and what is happening. Categories are crude tools which make us discard information and edit everything we see. Weick and Sutcliffe recommend that one should mindfully rework one's categories and be aware how they affect the expectations. With the concept "mindfulness" they mean

..the combination of ongoing scrutiny of existing expectations, continuous refinement and differentiation of expectations that make sense of unprecedented events, a more nuanced appreciation of context and ways to deal with it, and identification of new dimensions of context that improve foresight and current functioning. (Weick & Sutcliffe, 2001, p. 42.)

The four frames in Bolman and Deal's and theory are the structural, human resource, political and symbolic frames. An overview of the frames is given in Table 6.

Table 6. Overview of the four frames

(Source: Bolman & Deal, 2008, p. 18)

	Structural	Human Resource	Political	Symbolic
Focus	Structure and organization	Achievement of goals through collective action	Monitoring internal and external environments, use influence to mobilize needed resources	Interpretation of history, maintaining its culture, reinforcing its values
Central concepts	Prioritizing, rules, policies goals, roles, technology, environment, orderly decisions	Building consensus, problem solving through team approach, needs, skills relationships, instilling loyalty and commitment to the institution, leading by example	Power, conflict, competition, organizational politics	Culture, meaning, metaphor, ritual, ceremony, stories, heroes
Metaphor	Factory/machine	Family	Jungle	Carnival, temple, theater
Basic leadership challenge	Attune structure to task, technology, environment	Align organizational and human needs	Develop agenda and power base	Create faith, beauty, meaning

The structural frame in Bolman and Deal's theory incorporates the ideas of the school of thought of rationalist systems theories. It reflects the theories of scientific management and organizational theorists such as Taylor (1911/2004), Fayol (1916/1987) and Weber (1964). The structural frame portrays organization as a hierarchical system, the functions of which are based on the predetermined command chain, clear rules, established procedures and processes. Key leadership tasks in the structural frame are getting results, planning and decision-making. Attuning the organizational structure to the task, technology and the environment is a major tool to achieve the goals of the organization. (Bolman & Deal, 2008, pp. 47–60.)

The human resource frame reflects the ideas of organizational theorists of the human resource school of thought such as Mayo (1933/1992), Likert (1967) and McGregor (1960/2006). Leaders who use the human resource frame encourage participative decision-making. In addition, they attempt to meet the needs of people and help them to reach their goals. The starting point in human resource frame-oriented thinking is that order to achieve results organizational and human needs should be aligned. Leaders focus is on interpersonal skills, the ability to motivate others, and putting the interest of the organization ahead of oneself. Whereas the goal of the structural frame is to place people in the right places in the organization, the human resource frame attempts to change people through training, for example. (Bolman & Deal, 2008, p. 47; pp. 121–138.)

In the political frame, organizations are perceived to be composed of groups vying for power to control the allocation of scarce resources. The work of political school of organizational thought and theorists such as Cyert and March (1963/1992) have contributed to Bolman and Deal's description of the political frame. In the political frame decisions are made through processes of bargaining, influencing and coalition building. Policies and decisions are seen to emerge from negotiations between various interest groups. In order to achieve goals in an organization the leader's own agenda needs to show that the concerns of other stakeholders are taken into account. Thus the key task for a leader is to know the interests of other groups and balance between them. (Bolman & Deal, 2008, pp. 194–210.)

The symbolic frame in Bolman and Deal's reframing theory portrays an approach that looks at organizations as cultural systems of shared meanings. Leadership is seen as the "construction and maintenance of systems of shared meanings, paradigms, and shared languages and cultures". The work of the symbolic school of organizational theorists, Cohen and March (1974) in particular, is an important background to these views. Leaders who use the symbolic frame see their role as catalysts or facilitators of ongoing processes. The meanings are not to seen as given, but are created in the organization. Culture is seen as the glue that, by bonding the people, helps the organization to fulfil its vision. Vision as shared fantasy turns the organization's sense of purpose to the future. The leaders who adhere to this frame attempt to create meanings by influencing the culture in subtle ways. Stories, artefacts, rituals and ceremonies serve as an important function in meaning creation. The symbolic leader perceives that the spirit is the essence of high performance. (Bolman & Deal, 2008, pp. 253–278.)

4.1.2 Reframing theory in higher education

Bolman and Deal's reframing theory had an influential effect on Birnbaum's work on academic leadership. In the higher education classic "How Colleges Work" Birnbaum (1988) introduces bureaucratic, collegial, political and symbolical views on higher education institutions. These four models result from applying Bolman and Deal's four frames in the higher education context. In the description of cybernetic leadership, Birnbaum (1988, pp. 201–229) applies Bolman and Deal's idea of multiframeing to the higher education context. Birnbaum's book is theoretical but at the time of its publication he was leading a research group involved in a major five-year study of American college presidents. The results of this study are found in Birnbaum's "How Academic Leadership Works" (1992). The empirical studies relating Bolman and Deal's reframing theory in connection with Birnbaum's cybernetic leadership model on the work of American college presidents were published a few years earlier by Bensimon (1989a; 1989b; 1990).

Bergquist (1992) created a similar four-category typology of higher education organizations in "Four Cultures of the Academy" discussing the managerial, collegial, advocacy and developmental cultures in North American higher education. These cultures are

easily compared with both Bolman and Deal's and Birnbaum's models. In addition to the four original cultures presented by Bergquist in 1992, the 2008 version of the book (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008) includes a description of two additional cultures uncovered by the original book (Bergquist 1992).

Instead of using the term "structural" as Bolman and Deal do, Birnbaum discusses a similar type of leadership in connection with bureaucratic higher education institutions. In "How Colleges Work" he introduces "Peter Potter" as an example of a president working for a bureaucratic organization the "People's Community College". Birnbaum emphasizes that in order to be a successful leader in a bureaucratic organization the organization needs coordination processes which are accepted as legitimate. The legitimization can either be achieved by tradition or through the personal charisma of the leader. A leader gains legitimization by creating systems which are consistent with the norms accepted by the members of the organization. If an order falls outside the area of "accepted zone", for example, a Friday-afternoon meeting is called; the order will be not obeyed. This is the paradox of leadership in a bureaucratic organization: the leader's authority is defined by her/his subordinates. Birnbaum remarks that the zones of acceptance tend to be narrower among professionals. According to Birnbaum this would explain why bureaucratic mechanisms work better with the administrators than with the faculty and could be seen to be the reason for why faculty at community colleges are more willing to accept bureaucratic control than faculty at elite research universities. (Birnbaum, 1988, pp. 122–127).

According to Birnbaum, the driving force of a bureaucratic institution is rationality. The one who proves to be most rational tends to get promotion. Thus President Potter is seen to be the most rational person at People's. He is able to choose the most efficient methods by using rational analysis. In addition, he can effectively design systems for direction and control. By legitimizing leaders, bureaucratic institutions rationalize the hero role of the leader. The top position gives President Potter more power to influence. In addition, the bureaucracy makes it possible for Potter to delegate work to other organization members. The skill of delegation can thus be seen as a key to survive in leadership positions in bureaucratic organizations. (Birnbaum, 1988, pp. 124–126.)

Birnbaum's observations on leadership in a bureaucratic higher education institution can easily be compared to what Bergquist and Pawlak prefer to call leadership in managerial academic cultures. The origin of managerial culture can be traced to North American Catholic colleges and universities and Canadian and American community colleges. This type of organizational culture emphasizes clearly specified educational outcomes and evaluation criteria. It is typical for this type of academic culture that instructional design is separated from teaching. Faculty members in administration spend much time on specifying outcomes and the instructional methods to be applied. The key values in managerial culture are efficiency and competence. Leadership in this type of culture is successful if it promotes these values and has competent people filling the predetermined roles. Leaders need to demonstrate their success through numbers. (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008, pp. 43–71.) Table 7 compares Bolman and Deal's structural frame with Birnbaum's as well as Bergquist and Pawlak's models.

Table 7. Comparison of Bolman and Deal’s structural frame with Birnbaum’s leadership in the bureaucratic institution and Bergquist and Pawlak’s ideas on leadership in managerial cultures

Bolman and Deal (2008): Leaders with a structural frame	Birnbaum (1988): Leadership in the bureaucratic institution	Bergquist and Pawlak (2008): Leadership in a managerial culture
...make decisions, solve conflicts, evaluate performance and distribute rewards and penalties	Leadership processes must be perceived by others to be legitimate, consistent with acceptable rules and norms. Authority is defined by the subordinate. Those who are most rational get promotion. Decision-making is based on rational analysis. Effectiveness is dependent on the ability to delegate.	...promotes competence and efficiency, leaders influence and change by skilful management of people, money and information

It is somewhat challenging to compare Bolman and Deal’s human resource frame to Birnbaum’s model of leadership in collegial higher education institutions and to Bergquist and Pawlak’s notions on leadership in collegial higher education cultures (Table 8). This is because these descriptions of collegiality in higher education institutions so pointedly refer to a very specific type of higher education organization.

The collegial culture in North American universities, in Bergquist and Pawlak’s view (2008, pp. 15–42), is based on English, Scottish and German models of universities, valuing collegiality in “Oxbridge” style and faculty autonomy in the fashion of the Scottish and German universities of the past. The contemporary form of collegial culture promotes disciplinary power, strong emphasis on research and scholarship, faculty autonomy and the prestige of research universities. Faculty members are primarily members of the research community of their discipline and only secondarily employees of their universities. Successful faculty leaders in collegial cultures use their political skills to gain power. They have to work skilfully both inside and outside the organizations.

Table 8. Comparison of Bolman and Deal's human resource frame with Birnbaum's and Bergquist and Pawlak's ideas of leadership in collegial institutions/cultures

Bolman and Deal (2008): Leaders with a human resource frame	Birnbaum (1988): Leadership in a collegial institution	Bergquist and Pawlak (2008): Leadership in a collegial culture
...try to match organizational needs with the individual needs of the employees, encourage participative decision-making, motivate employees to reach their own goals	...is based on making decisions that are seen as "right" by the group, give only orders that will be followed, listen to the collegial group, reduce status differences and encourage self-discipline.	..promotes collective leadership and faculty autonomy through complex campus politics and faculty governance.

When introducing a collegial higher institution, Birnbaum sketches a portrait of 150-year-old "Heritage College", which is headed by "Harry Henderson". Heritage is an institution in which people act as equals and hierarchy is not important. President Henderson was chosen for his position by having been perceived to be "the first among equals". At the same time as he is being his colleagues' master, he is considered to be their servant. (Birnbaum, 1988, pp. 85–89). In describing leadership in a collegial institution, Birnbaum summarizes:

Persons in leadership positions in collegial systems are expected to influence without coercion, to direct without sanctions, to control without inducing alienation. They must provide benefits that other participants see as a fair exchange for yielding some degree of their autonomy. Their selection as leaders provides them significant leverage to influence their communities, their new status has been legitimated by the participation of their constituencies, and these constituents have certified, at least initially, both their competence and their commitment to group values. (Birnbaum, 1988, p. 102.)

An important distinction between Birnbaum's and Bergquist and Pawlak's description of the leadership in collegial systems is that the latter accentuate that a leader in collegial culture uses complex political skills and negotiates in different committee meetings.

The successful faculty leader at any institution dominated by the collegial culture will have learned how to live in and even enjoy these committee meetings and will have gained power by working skillfully inside this structure as well as working outside it by meeting individually with colleagues and making artful use of memoranda, agendas, action-oriented proposals, and multiple e-mails. (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008, p. 40).

Similar political skills are needed in a culture which Bergquist and Pawlak (2008, pp. 111–145) call an advocacy culture. The origins of the advocacy culture can be traced to the history of North American community colleges. The advocacy culture partly resulted because the managerial culture gained dominance over the collegial culture

in North American universities and violated the “psychological contract” between academics and their universities. Bergquist and Pawlak (2008, p. 117) suggest that the advocacy culture might actually be a counterculture against the spread of managerial culture and has resulted from the alienation of the people working in even larger and more complex universities. The central value sought in advocacy culture is egalitarianism: the same rules should be applied to people in similar situations. In an advocacy culture the distribution of resources and benefits is negotiated between different stakeholders, most often between management and faculty through collective bargaining processes. The power of appointed leaders in an advocacy culture is reduced. Mid-level academic leaders especially, such as department heads, might feel powerless because bargainings most often take place between faculty unions and top management. On the other hand, the role of a leader in an advocacy culture is strengthened because overt use of power is accepted and the leader’s persuasion skills are appreciated.

In outlining leadership in a political institution, Birnbaum introduces a fictional president “Rita Robinson” at “Regional State University”. President Robinson is aware that many of the university’s stakeholders have different interests. It is natural that these different interests clash. In order to reach her goals, she is willing to negotiate the means rather than the ends. She considers representatives of different subgroups powerful, but does not think that these groups have equal power. It is her job to balance and mediate between these demands. (Birnbaum, 1988, pp. 146–147.)

Birnbaum (1988, pp. 148–149) argues that a political leader such as President Robinson knows that university members attach different meanings to values. Although all organizational members might agree on striving for e.g. “excellence”, it means something different for everyone. Values need to be discussed only when decisions between different alternative solutions are negotiated. The university functions through bargaining between these options. President Robinson succeeds by offering alternatives which are acceptable to both parties involved and by thus strengthening the bonds between the parties.

In addition, Birnbaum (1988, p. 149) stresses that leaders in political systems realize that not all decisions are important for everyone, and that personal involvement in decision-making is not needed if the benefits will be received without participating. In other words, apathy among university faculty members can be seen to be rational. Understanding this, President Robinson is able to plan a system in which the participation costs of decision-making processes are minimized. Table 9 compares the insights of the use of political frame (Bolman & Deal, 2008) and leadership in political institution (Birnbaum, 1988) with the leadership in advocacy culture (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008).

Table 9. Comparison of Bolman and Deal's political leadership frame with Birnbaum's ideas of leadership in political institutions and Bergquist and Pawlak's insights on leadership in advocacy cultures

Bolman & Deal (2008): Leaders with a political frame	Birnbaum (1988): Leadership in a political institution	Bergquist and Pawlak (2008): Leadership in the advocacy culture
...consider that individual and group needs inevitably clash within the organization and result in disputes over resources. Leaders bargain, negotiate, compromise, network and build coalitions.	Leaders try to understand the institution as it really is, and to clarify group values by offering plausible solutions and by reducing the cost of participation.	...promotes fair bargaining and equitable and egalitarian procedures. Collective bargaining processes dilute the role of the appointed leader but at the same time make strong leadership legitimate

Comparison between Bolman and Deal's frames, Birnbaum's ideas of leadership in various types of higher education institutions and Bergquist and Pawlak's different cultures was fairly straightforward, with the exception of the argument by the latter, that leadership in collegial cultures is political in nature. However, more differences can be found when comparing Bergquist and Pawlak's fourth culture with the models by Bolman and Deal and Birnbaum.

Bergquist and Pawlak (2008, pp. 73–109) consider that the developmental culture is a relatively new in North American higher education institutions. A developmental higher education culture promotes maturity and personal growth among students, faculty and staff. The learning at individual and organizational level can be combined in a way that is beneficial to all. Developmental leaders seek to work collaboratively by “influencing rather than controlling, suggesting rather than demanding, informing rather than directing” (Bergquist & Pawlak, p. 107). Moreover, developmental leaders try to raise collective awareness of the organizational future. Developmental leaders might even assume a servant leader position (cf. Farnsworth, 2007).

This description of a developmental culture is much more in tune with Bolman and Deal's human resource frame than their view of the fourth (symbolic) frame, although Bergquist and Pawlak emphasize the role of vision, which is also central in Bolman and Deal's symbolic frame.

However, Birnbaum's ideas of leadership in anarchical higher education organizations are very close to Bolman and Deal's symbolic leadership, as illustrated in Table 10. Both sources rely heavily on quoting Cohen and March's theory of organized anarchy (1974), for which reason Cohen and March are referred to in Table 10 instead of Bergquist and Pawlak. These theories suggest that organizational behavior cannot be explained in rational terms. Bolman and Deal (2008, p. 28) propose that a rational approach is very appropriate to explain what should be done, but provides an inadequate answer for why things do not work.

Table 10. Comparison of Bolman and Deal’s view of symbolic frame with Birnbaum’s leadership in an anarchical institution and Cohen and March’s leadership in organized anarchies

Bolman & Deal (2006,2008): Leaders with a symbolic frame	Birnbaum (1988): Leaders in an anarchical institution:	Cohen & March (1974): Leaders in an Organized Anarchy
key tasks are construction and maintenance of systems of shared meanings, paradigms, and shared languages and cultures	meaning makers and catalysts	catalysts or facilitators of an ongoing process. They do not so much lead the institution as channel its activities in subtle ways.

By the term “organized anarchy” Cohen and March (1974, p. 3) refer to an organization which has problematic goals, unclear technology and fluid participation. If a university is seen to be an organized anarchy, its goals are not deemed to be consistent and clear. It can be seen to find its preferences more often through action than it can be seen to act according to those preferences. Unclear technology refers to a university’s inability to understand its own processes. Fluid participation in a university can be detected when observing how much time and energy are spent by university members on participation in university processes and concluding that this varies not only between individuals but also in terms of the participation rates of individual members from one time to another.

Cohen and March (1974, pp. 195–197) argue that college presidents face four fundamental ambiguities: ambiguity of purpose, ambiguity of power, ambiguity of experience and ambiguity of success. Cohen and March claim that these ambiguities challenge most leadership theories: if decision-making is ambiguous, how can it be explained in rational terms? If power is ambiguous, how can control mechanisms be justified? If experience is ambiguous, what is the merit of learning theories? If success is ambiguous, can theories of motivation explain organizational behavior? In Cohen and March’s view, college presidents work in an environment which presumes rationality but which in practise denies it.

Thus, in Cohen and March’s terms, when examining leadership in organized anarchy, “we can examine how a leader with a purpose can operate within an organization that is without one” (Cohen & March, 1974, p. 205). Cohen and March give ample tactical advice for dealing with ambiguity. One, and probably the most quoted piece of advice is the recommendation to leaders to provide garbage cans for organizational decision-making. Any situation in which the organization is supposed to make a decision can be interpreted as a garbage can into which both solutions and problems can be thrown. If a problem meets a solution in a garbage can, a decision might be made, depending on the timing and the participants involved. It is the leader’s task to increase the number of the potential solutions and problems so that these may meet (Cohen et al., 1972, Cohen & March, 1974, pp. 81–82; pp. 211–212). All and all, the position Cohen and March give to a college or university president is not very important at all, they claim (Cohen & March, 1974, p. 2) that presidency is an illusion and that the president has only a modest control over the university affairs.

Birnbaum's view on leadership in anarchies is consistent with the conception of Cohen and March. Birnbaum, too, describes an anarchical higher education institution by defining its characteristics as having problematic goals, unclear technology and fluid participation. (Birnbaum, 1988, pp. 151–156.) The leadership tactics which are used by Birnbaum's fictional representative of a leader in anarchical system, president "Franklin Foster at Flagship University", follow Cohen and March's list (1974, pp. 207–215) faithfully. The list advises, leaders to 1) provide enough garbage cans so that the solutions and problems may meet, 2) spend time, 3) persist, 4) exchange status for substance, 5) facilitate opposition participation 6) overload the system, 7) manage unobtrusively, 8) interpret history. (Birnbaum, 1988, pp. 169–172.)

However, in discussing leadership within anarchical systems, Birnbaum, quoting Bolman and Deal (1984), also pays attention to the sensemaking activities President Foster is involved with. President Foster tries to change the perceptions of Flagship members by trying to shape the values, symbols and emotions which have an effect on how people make sense of Flagship. "He spends much of his time explaining and clarifying events to others so that they are more likely to see equivocal events, messages, and relationships as he does" (Birnbaum, 1988, p. 168).

In other words, Birnbaum's leader in an anarchical higher education system is a meaning maker (cf. Gioia & Chittipaldi, 1991). Bolman and Deal in their non-academic book "The Wizard and the Warrior" (2006) further emphasize this aspect of symbolic leadership, and by calling users of symbolic frame wizards, they stretch the meaning of symbolic leadership increasingly away from rational thinking, and even call it "magic".

Wizards bring imagination, insight, creativity, vision, meaning, and magic to the work of leadership. They look beyond the surface to see new possibilities. They surprise and delight followers with new and imaginative solution to old problems. They goad others to be creative. They often work magic – accomplishing the impossible. They are visionaries with flair for drama and a yen for symbols who get people excited and committed to the organization's culture and mission. (Bolman & Deal, 2006, pp. 21–22)

The fifth and sixth cultures Bergquist and Pawlak describe in their 2008 edition are the virtual and tangible cultures of academic organizations. These were not included in Bergquist's original four-culture typology in 1992, and cannot as such be compared with Bolman and Deal's four frames or Birnbaum's ideas of higher education organizations. Virtual culture does not only refer to virtual education, but also to entire institutions and inter-institutional partnerships which are structured virtually. (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008, pp. 147–183). The tangible academic culture refers to the opposite, a culture which values face-to-face education in an owned physical location (Bergquist & Pawlak, p. 185).

Birnbaum (1988, pp. 180–192) claims that higher education organizations could be perceived as cybernetic systems which consist of loosely coupled subsystems. Subsystems might respond to environmental stimuli, but most often this does not affect

the whole system or the other subsystems. Control in cybernetic systems takes place through self-correcting control systems, “thermostats” which include a feedback loop. If the subsystems operate within the accepted range of behavior, nothing happens, but once it is noticed that an action falls outside the accepted range, the organization is activated to return to the desired level of performance.

According to Birnbaum, leadership in such a system should respect the nature of self-correcting mechanisms, and not deliberately try to change it (Birnbaum, 1988, p. 196) “because the unusual characteristics of academic institutions, attempts to improve the “management” of colleges and universities may reduce rather than increase effectiveness” (Birnbaum, 1988, p. 202). Because the cybernetic organization needs sensing mechanisms which react to environmental changes, the organization might create many loosely coupled monitors. Another option is to try to complicate the understandings of people who serve as organizational thermostats controlling the organization. In a cybernetic system, problems should be understood from more than one perspective, hence Birnbaum (1988, p. 209 - 210) argues that leaders need the ability to engage in circular thinking and see how their own behavior affects the behavior of others on campus. Birnbaum advises that situations should be seen through multiple frames.

Simple understandings lead to general rules to be applied in all situations; complicated understandings suggest that situations differ and that reliance on experiences of the past may prove dysfunctional. One of the best ways for leaders to develop complicated understandings is to be aware of the various conceptual models of organization and of leadership so that they can generate both multiple descriptions of situations and multiple approaches to solutions. (Birnbaum, 1988, p. 209).

In a similar manner, Bergquist and Pawlak (2008, pp. 219–249) advise higher education leaders to appreciate each of the six academic cultures and acknowledge that they exist simultaneously. It is natural that these cultures clash, but leaders should be ready to examine the reality through what is revealed through these conflicts. Table 11 illustrates the comparisons between Bolman and Deal’s multiframing, Birnbaum’s cybernetic leadership and what Bergquist and Pawlak prefer to call “Engaging the six cultures of the academy”.

Table 11. Comparison of Bolman and Deal’s multiframing leadership with Birnbaum’s leadership in a cybernetic organization and Bergquist’s and Pawlak’s idea of engaging the six cultures of the academy

Bolman & Deal (2008): Multiframing leadership	Birnbaum (1988): Leadership in a cybernetic organization	Bergquist and Pawlak (2008): Engaging the six cultures of the academy
Moving beyond mechanical approaches for understanding organizations towards a deeper appreciation of the organization	Understanding the nature of cybernetic systems and complicating understanding by multiframing and circular thinking	Leaders who understand the conflict dynamics of six cultures can work better with the conflicts resulting from these cultures clashing

4.2 Reframing studies

Neumann (1994) in reviewing Bergquist’s 1992 book on the four cultures of the academy criticised it for not having empirical research evidence to support the theory. However, the empirical applications of Bolman and Deal’s reframing theory with or without also referring to Birnbaum’s work have been popular among higher education researchers. The Web page of Lee Bolman (2010) lists most of these studies. The studies can be grouped in various ways, for example by field of interest (see Figure 2).

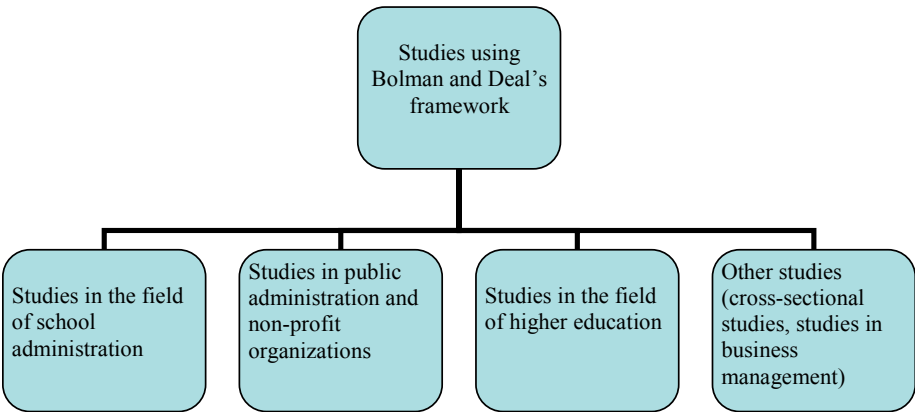


Figure 2. General classification of studies using Bolman and Deal's reframing theory

The following sub-chapters concentrate on discussing empirical reframing studies in the field of higher education and on the non-profit sector, the latter group because of their methodological rather than context-related contribution to this study (Heimovics, Herman & Jurkiewicz Coughlin, 1993; Heimovics, Herman & Jurkiewicz, 1995). In addition, some of the cross-sectional studies (Bolman & Deal, 1991b; Thompson, 2000) are

reported if a sample of higher education leaders was included in the study. However, the order of reporting does not follow the grouping in Figure 2 but the chronological order in which these studies were published.

In addition to using reframing theory for empirical studies in higher education leadership, Merz (2003) and Sullivan (2001) at least have used it successfully for conceptual papers, Merz in discussing the work of deans, and Sullivan in an exploration of the leadership in American community colleges.

4.2.1 Bensimon's four-frame studies

In the field of higher education, the first study using reframing theory as a conceptual framework was conducted by Bensimon (1989a; 1989b; 1990) in connection with an institutional leadership project (cf. Birnbaum, 1992). Bensimon interviewed 32 college and university presidents asking how they define good presidential leadership. She created a coding book combining Bolman and Deal's reframing theory with Birnbaum's model. The coding book distinguished between two components. Leadership as the process of providing direction to a group or an institution and the leadership tactics used to provide direction. If at least two references to a particular frame were coded, the president was seen to use that frame (for coding sheet see Bensimon, 1987; 1990).

Bensimon concluded that thirteen of the presidents interviewed espoused a single frame, eleven two frames, seven three frames and one president four leadership frames. Fifty-three percent of the presidents interviewed were categorized to utilize a bureaucratic frame, fifty-three percent a collegial frame, forty-seven percent a political frame and sixty-six percent a symbolic frame. According to Bensimon, new presidents were likely to provide single-frame orientations, whereas multiframing was typical for old presidents and those new presidents who had held at least one other presidency before the present one. Community college presidents used single frames more often than university presidents. (Bensimon, 1989a; 1990.)

However, Bensimon was very critical of her own work in frames analysis in one respect. Soon after having conducted the study, she criticised her own work for not reporting research findings on the basis of gender. She wrote

I reinforced the idea of leadership as a phenomenon that is shaped by objective and independent variable. This understanding of leadership is more consistent with the functionalist/positivist perspective...., which feminists have criticized as reflecting a predominantly male interpretation of organizations and their management. (Bensimon, 1989b.)

Bensimon (1989b) argued that all frames derive from theories created by men and therefore cannot accurately capture leadership as experienced by women. For this reason, Bensimon reinterpreted the presidents' frames from a feminist perspective and concluded

that female theories of leadership are different and that the axioms of the collegial, political and symbolic frames reflect more accurately male definitions of leadership.

Following this study, Bensimon compared presidents' own views of their leadership frames to the views that their constituencies had on presidents' frame usage (Bensimon, 1990). She interviewed chief academic officers, presidents of the faculty senates or unions and trustee chairs on the campuses the interviewed presidents worked at. As a result Bensimon found significant discrepancies between the presidents' own and their constituents' views on the utilization of frames. Presidents whose constituents regarded them to be high on complexity (utilizing two or more frames) had viewed themselves as espousing collegial, political and symbolic frames whereas the presidents whose constituents viewed them to be low on complexity, had a self-image which was bureaucratic and symbolic. Bensimon concluded that presidents who mainly use a bureaucratic frame are unlikely to influence faculty in a collegial, political or symbolic way.

4.2.2 Bolman and Deal's empirical studies

Bolman and Deal report (1991b) on a wide range of frame-related studies conducted by themselves. They started by using their framework with qualitative research methods and collected written narratives from 145 American higher education administrators, 63 American school administrators and 20 Singapore school administrators. After having coded these responses using a codebook they had developed, they were able to conclude that only in five percent of the incidents described, all four frames were used, and in less than 25 percent, three frames were used.

In this article (Bolman & Deal, 1991b) Bolman and Deal also report on a quantitative survey instrument they created to measure the use of frames. The instrument contains two parts: one for self-evaluation and the other to be used for colleague or subordinate ratings of frame utilization. The samples were the same as in the qualitative study described above with the addition of a corporate sample representing 90 senior managers working a multinational corporation operating in 15 countries. In addition, the colleagues of the participating managers were asked to evaluate both the leadership and the management effectiveness of the participating managers on a scale from 1 to 5. For that purpose no definitions for "management" or "leadership" were provided.

The results of the quantitative survey, according to Bolman and Deal (1991b) are important in many respects. Firstly, they indicate that the four-frame theory is valid: factorial analysis of the quantitative survey produced findings that are consistent with the four frames. The factor structure in the self-evaluation and colleague ratings varied slightly but emerged clearly in all four frames. Secondly, Bolman and Deal's research findings support their definition of management and leadership: in the empirical studies leadership effectiveness was consistent with the colleague ratings of the use of the political and symbolic frames and the use of the structural frame was in all other samples but in the corporate sample connected with managerial effectiveness.

These results, according to Bolman and Deal (1991b), have major implications. Firstly, they contradict the managerial grid model (Blake & Mouton, 1985) and situational leadership model (Hersey, 1984) which are based on the notions that leadership can be constructed based on leadership dimensions 1) concern for task and 2) concern for people. Secondly, the research findings emphasise the role of political frame in leadership. The political frame in leadership is according to Bolman and Deal (1991b) accepted in the leadership literature, but runs contrary to the beliefs of many management development professionals. In all samples of Bolman and Deal's study the use of the political frame was a better predictor of leadership effectiveness than the use of human resource frame.

Yet another important finding of Bolman and Deal's 1991 study (1991b) is that the work context plays a significant role in determining the use of each frame and its effectiveness. In other words, Bolman and Deal's empirical study suggests that management believed to be effective for a school principal is not considered to be as effective in higher education or corporate contexts. Table 12 presents Bolman and Deal's (1991b) research findings and illustrates the differences of effective patterns across different samples. Each cell in the table shows the variables which were statistically significant in the regression, ranked in order of the size of the standard regression coefficient. The table shows that the leadership effectiveness in all samples was consistently associated with the use of symbolic and political leadership frames and in all but in the corporate sample, managerial effectiveness was primarily associated with the use of the structural frame. The higher education sample differs from the other samples by emphasizing the role of all frames in leadership effectiveness. This would, of course, further support the argument that multiframing is especially important in higher education leadership.

Table 12. Summary of effective patterns in Bolman and Deal's study of 1991 (b)

	Corporate Middle Managers	Higher Education Administrators	US School Administrators	Singapore School Administrators
Effective managers are highest on	Political Human Resource	Structural Political Human Resource	Structural Symbolic	Symbolic Structural
Effective leaders are highest on	Symbolic Political Human resource	Symbolic Political Human resource Structural	Symbolic Political	Political Symbolic

Bolman and Deal's empirical results also indicate that the work context is more important than the cultural setting. In addition, the results indicate that men and women in comparable positions are more similar than different in their use of frames.

4.2.3 Reframing studies in non-profit organizations

In a similar fashion to Bolman and Deal (1991b) Heimovics et al. (1993; 1995) used reframing theory for a qualitative content analysis in their study of managers of non-profit organizations. They collected narratives of critical leadership incidents among managers from two different groups: 1) a randomly selected group and 2) a group of non-profit managers who were chosen by an expert panel as highly effective. In these studies the researchers used a coding book which is shown in Table 13.

Table 13. Coding book by Heimovics et al. (1993, 1995) for coding frame-related actions

Structural	Reorganizing internal staff functions
	Implementing or clarifying policies or procedures with staff or board
	Developing new information, budgeting, or control systems
	Designing personnel systems
	Developing planning processes
Human Resources	Processes of participation and involvement
	Listening, helping, or engaging others in participation
	Dealing with interpersonal issues
	Emphases on collaboration, consensus, and team building
	Quality-of-work-life efforts
Political	Bargaining
	Negotiating
	Building alliances and networking with key players in the environment
	Dealing with conflicts among different constituencies, interest groups or competing interests
	Dealing with disputes about the allocation or acquisition of scarce resources
Symbolic	Working on vision or agency identity
	Attempts to influence the culture of the organization
	Using self as a symbol
	Discussion of the symbolic importance of practises, rituals, or artifacts, for example, "attachment to the way we've always done it"

In their study Heimovics et al. (1993, 1995) used two sets of coders. One set coded only specific actions undertaken by the non-profit managers. These coders were instructed to code only those actions that were probably observable to others. A definition for enactment was "a behavioral description of how a critical event was handled or acted on by the executive". The other set of coders coded only espoused or advocated statements of leadership.

The results of the study are very much in line with Bolman and Deal's (1991) conclusions highlighting the importance of the political dimension of leadership. Heimovics et al. (1995) argue: "It is time to bring the use of the political frame out of the closet in our teaching and discussion of the leadership effectiveness of chief executives." Their study indicates that both effective executives and the comparison group enacted more political behavior than they espoused, and effective executives were twice as likely as the comparison executives to exhibit behavior which was seen to use the political frame.

4.2.4 Quantitative reframing studies in higher education

Since the creation of the quantitative four-frame survey instrument the majority of reframing studies in the field of higher education have adopted this quantitative approach to study the frames of leaders. The survey instrument is easy to use, and Bolman and Deal readily offer it to research purposes (Bolman, 2010). In addition its validity is strengthened with every study that uses it. In the last two decades it has been used by many American doctoral dissertations in higher education and educational administration⁴. For example Crist (1999) used the instrument to study job satisfaction among chief academic officers and the perceived leadership style of the institution's president, DeFrank Cole (2003) used it to study the differences in self-explorations of female and male presidential leadership styles, Griffin (2005) to compare chairs of biology and English departments, Maitra (2007) to study female administrative vice presidents and Mathis (1999) to evaluate the relationship of department chair's frame use to faculty job satisfaction, Gamble (2003) to analyze the speeches of US college presidents and Eick (2003) to discuss risk management at American universities.

Published work using Bolman and Deal's quantitative research instrument in the field of higher education includes Scott's (1999) study on the leadership frames of university athletic directors, Mosser and Wall's (2002) exploration of the leadership frames of chairs in nursing departments, Turley's study (2004) on program directors of 4-year radiation therapy programs, Sasnett and Ross' (2007) study on leadership frames and perceptions of effectiveness among health information management 2- and 4-year program directors. All studies were conducted in the US.

In addition, there is a cross-sectional study, which is important in the light of Ben-simon's (1990) and Bolman and Deal's (1991) contradictory views on the discrimination or gender neutrality of reframing studies. In this study by Thompson (2000) the participants represented both school administration and higher education leadership. As a result, Thompson concluded, in a similar fashion to Bolman and Deal (1991) that the use of leadership frames is not gender dependent.

The research setting and key results of the above mentioned studies are presented in Table 14.

4. ED and PhD.

Table 14. Higher education studies using Bolman and Deal's quantitative survey instrument

Researcher(s), year	Target group, sample	Method	Frame utilization	Frame complexity
Scott, 1999	Frames of athletic directors (AD) perceived by themselves (n= 13) and by head coaches (n=100)	AD self-perception and coach ratings	AD self-perception: HR frame most descriptive, political frame 2 nd most descriptive Coach ratings: structural frame most descriptive, political frame 2 nd most descriptive	not addressed
Thompson, 2000	Educational leaders in schools and higher education (n= 57) perceived by subordinates (n=472)	Sub-ordinate ratings	not addressed	Using one or two frames: 51.1% Using three frames 13.3% Using four frames 35.6%
Mosser & Walls, 2002	Frames of chairs of nursing departments (n=70) perceived by faculty of nursing programs (n=253)	Faculty ratings	Structural frame 43.5% HR frame 49.8% Political frame 32.4% Symbolic frame 16.6. %	Using no frames 39.5% Using one frame 16.6 % Using two frames 12.6% Using three frames 9.2% Using four frames 22.1%
Turley, 2004	Frames of radiation therapy program directors (n=59)	Program directors self-perception	Structural frame 69.5% HR frame 72.9% Political frame 32.2% Symbolic frame 40.7%	Using no frames 15.3% Using one frame 18.6 % Using two frames 22% Using three frames 23.7% Using four frames 20.4%
Sasnett & Ross, 2007	Frames of health information management program directors (n=97)	Program directors self-perception	Structural frame 62.5% HR frame 75% Political frame 26.1% Symbolic frame 35.9%	Using no frames 20.3% Using one frame 28.1% Using two frames 26.6% Using three frames 12.5% Using four frames 20.30%

4.2.5 Qualitative reframing studies in higher education

The application of reframing theory to empirical studies with a qualitative approach has been less popular than with a quantitative approach. However, there are a few examples which illustrate how the framework can be used to discuss a variety of different themes within higher education research. Patterson et al. (2002) used reframing as a conceptual framework to analyze the experiences of participants on a mentoring program intended to support the paths of women and ethnic minorities into tenured earning positions in higher education. Data was collected from mentors' and mentees' descriptions of their expectations of the process, their field notes during the process, meeting notes and participants' written narratives regarding survey questions. The analysis showed that Bolman and Deal's four frames served to help the participants to understand and negotiate particular university cultures.

Reframing theory was used as a conceptual framework to study professionalism in pharmacy education by Thompson et al. in 2008. In this study qualitative data was collected from different stakeholders in pharmacy education and Bolman and Deal's theory was used to structure the data to construct the phenomenon of professionalism in pharmacy education. The majority of professionalism themes belonged to the structural or symbolic frames, e.g. the dress and conduct codes of the pharmaceutical professionalism belong to the structural frame and the white coat and other ritual ceremonies to the symbolic frame. The participating pharmacy students indicated an educational need for more interactions and applications related to the political and human resource frames.

Kezar et al. (2008) conducted a qualitative higher education leadership study using the reframing theory to discuss the presidential leadership strategies for the promotion of campus diversity. After having carried out phone "elite interviews" with 27 American college presidents and collected background documents, the researchers analyzed the data using both deductive and inductive coding and referred to Boyatzis' (1998) book on thematic analysis as a guide for their methodology. For the presentation of their findings the researchers created a "composite example" and presented a description of President Araneae (a name referring to spiders) who was busy in web-developing activities to promote diversity on campus. The following is an extract from the description:

...However, President Araneae made a commitment to spending important but scarce on-campus time with students of color. "I learned to support students of color," President Araneae asserted, "by spending time with them." This enabled her to more purposefully devote energy and resources to the issues with which students faced, rather than presupposing she already knew the issues and concerns. Students of color also provided President Araneae with extra motivation to keep pressing on diversity issues, even when she became tired: "Over the years, your energy can really lag, and it is the student voices that pick you up and give you the energy to go on." (Kezar et al., 2008.)⁵

4.3 Critique of reframing theory

Dunford and Palmer (1995) and Palmer and Dunford (1996a) not only criticize the reframing theory of Bolman and Deal, but direct their critical comments towards Morgan's (1986/1997) theory of organizational metaphors, and other metaphorical organization theories, too (Palmer & Dunford, 1996b). Dunford and Palmer (1995) argue: "The frames literature is nothing if not evangelistic" and level critique against the claims Bolman and Deal present in their work. These claims include 1) claim about "manageability" i.e. reframing helps to redefine situations in a way it makes them manageable, 2) claim about "empowerment" i.e. multiple frames provide a way to understand more about

5. A similar type of a descriptive narrative in the field of school leadership is offered by Reitzug and Reeves (1992) on the symbolic leadership behavior of a school principal

people around managers, 3) claim about “change”, multiple framing enables managers to change organizations, 4) claim about “freedom and prosperity”, i.e. reframing contributes to personal freedom and organizational prosperity.

In order to assess the value of the claims, Dunford and Palmer (1995) studied whether exposure to reframing theory affected the managerial thinking and actions of part-time students of an Australian management program. Despite the scepticism voiced above, Dunford and Palmer found that 78 percent of the students believed that taking a course on reframing had actually affected their thinking. The respondents of Dunford and Palmer’s survey believed that they analyzed organizational situations in a different way after the course than they had done prior to the course. Moreover, 89 percent of the respondents stated that the frame-related thinking provided them a competitive advantage inside their organizations. Even after two years of the exposure to reframing theory, seventy-six percent of respondents thought that reframing would continue to have an influence on their management styles.

Even though the study results tend to speak in favor of reframing theory, Dunford and Palmer (1995) question whether it can be argued that reframing theory can promote both managerial and organizational effectiveness, i.e. whether the possibly widened individual perspective of a manager contributes to greater organizational effectiveness. Secondly, they argue whether it is the learning of Bolman and Deal’s four frames that contributes to a managerial change or whether the managerial learning is, in fact, due to exposure to general conceptualizations of organizations. Thirdly, Dunford and Palmer ask whether the effects of reframing training are lasting. Fourthly, they question whether reframing theory is just another espoused theory in the minds of the managers and does not actually result in everyday applications. In addition, Dunford and Palmer (1995) point out that managerial competency can be enhanced without being conscious of it. Furthermore, they argue that the relationship between reframing and its outcomes is not clear.

Palmer and Dunford continue with their reframing critique in an article they published the following year (Palmer & Dunford, 1996a). In this article they question whether it can be argued that everyone can learn complex thinking such as reframing. In addition, they ask whether the use of frames can, as presented in Bolman and Deal’s (2008, p.12; p.19) theory be voluntarily chosen by individuals because of their cognitive capacity or if the use of a frame is restricted in an organization.

However, in keeping with the voluntarist assumption noted above they[Bolman and Deal] do not analyze either the reasons behind why particular frames may have been dominant, or the extent to which over time, organizational practises and processes move towards “simplicity”, partially caused by the way managers learn and the initial successes this brings them. Over time, their cognitive structures become narrower and hardened around a core set of ways of interpreting and understanding their organizational world. These narrow ways of operating are reinforced through cultural, structural and process-based ways of operating. (Palmer & Dunford, 1996a.)

Moreover, Palmer and Dunford (1996a) argue that the link between thought and action in reframing theory is as straightforward as the theory would imply. In addition, according to them, individual knowledge or power may deter an individual from acting on reframe induced thought, for example in a situation in which reframing would expose views which the reframer is not willing to advance or the advancement is not in her/his power.

As mentioned in Chapter 4.2.5, Bensimon (1989b) justifies her criticism against reframing theory with the critical feminist perspective and argues that the frames portray a predominantly male interpretation of organizations and their management.

In their critique of reframing theory Brocklesby and Mingers (1999) argue that Bolman and Deal, although using the frame as a central concept of their theory, “are silent” on what a frame is. Nor are Brockelsby and Mingers convinced of Bolman and Deal’s explanation of the process invoked when framing or reframing. In addition, Brockelsby and Mingers criticize Bolman and Deal’s theory for its failure to discuss the constraints of reframing.

Dunbar, Garud and Raghuram (1996) criticize all conceptual frameworks which use frames and framing as their central concepts for their apparent inability to discuss deframing as a necessary condition for reframing. In other words, deframing must take place before reframing is possible. For this reason, they conclude that deframing i.e. the ability to destroy old beliefs in order to create new ones is a skill which should be taught to managers and future managers. Porac and Tina (1996) disagree and promote the idea of “managerial narrow-mindedness”. They argue that instead of developing higher levels of cognitive diversity, business educators should teach how to pursue strategies that derive from the uniqueness of the company.

Table 15 below sums up the main points of criticism towards either on the reframing theory or more generally towards theories that use frames and framing as key concepts.

Table 15. Key points of the critique of reframing theory

Critical points
Do thoughts lead to actions?
Is the reframing theory based on predominantly male orientation to leadership?
Is reframing possible without deframing?
Can reframing be learned?
Can the frames be voluntarily chosen?
Does reframing lead to too complex thinking?
Is reframing theory based on mere wishful thinking?
Can managerial frames affect organizational development?

4.4 Conclusion

Bolman and Deal's reframing theory was created in 1984. Rather than a novel theory it should be seen as a consolidation of major schools of thought in organizational thinking. It bears close resemblances to Morgan's (1986/1997) views on looking at organizations through metaphors. Bolman and Deal's work influenced Birnbaum's (1988) way of modeling higher education organizations. It has been a framework for empirical studies in leadership studies in many fields, higher education being no exception.

Bolman and Deal (1991) started their own empirical studies with a qualitative approach but soon developed a survey instrument. The survey instrument can be used for leader's self-perception as well as colleague/subordinate ratings for leader's frame utilization, thus providing valuable knowledge of the leadership process perceived by both the leader and the followers. Lately, most higher education leadership studies have used the survey instrument and qualitative research applications of reframing theory have been scarce. In addition, surprisingly little criticism has been expressed on the positivistic use of the survey instrument. It is, after all, used to discuss a theory which is very constructivist in origin. The main part of the criticism directed against reframing theory is to do with its idealism, i.e. whether leaders are actually willing and able to change their actions after seeing their organizations in a different and more complex light. Moreover, the problematic link between thought and action is embedded not only in the theory but poses challenges in the empirical applications of the conceptual framework.

4.5 Research questions and the scope of the study

Using the concepts derived from reframing theory (Bolman & Deal, 2008), the research questions for this study can be stated as:

1. Which leadership frames are used by Finnish UAS program directors?
2. How are the leadership frames used?
3. Are Finnish UAS program directors able to reframe and multiframe?
4. How do the program directors frame change?

In this study reframing theory as the conceptual framework is extended to a previously uncovered context, as program-level leadership at Finnish UASs is examined. Moreover, because of its methodological orientations, this study adds to the relatively narrow strand of qualitative applications of Bolman and Deal's reframing theory.

The discussion on the concept of "a frame" in this study refers to Bolman and Deal's definitions and the strand of studies following their insights. Bolman and Deal acknowledge (1992; 2008, p. 10) that the work of Goffman (1974/1986) influenced their

thinking, but do not offer any deeper analysis of the similarities or differences between their use of the term compared to the Goffmannian frame and the sociological tradition of frames analysis. No such comparison will be provided in this study, either.

Because of the qualitative nature of the study and a limited number of participants, this study will not aim at comparing leadership frames between male and female leaders or between different educational fields. Views on the gender discrimination of Bolman and Deal's framework vary. Bolman and Deal (1991b; 1992) and Thompson (2000) claim that the framework is equally descriptive for both men and women, but Bensimon (1989b) disagrees and argues that the axioms of Bolman and Deal's four frames reflect male constructions of leadership and organizational life more accurately than female constructions. Nevertheless, this study will not to pursue this issue further. The interviewees for this study were selected to represent the three largest educational fields in Finnish UASs: technology, health care and social work and business. However, this study will not seek to compare the differences in leadership frames use between these study fields.

It is acknowledged that as this study investigates the leadership orientations of the program directors it will provide only a partial view of leadership. The views of the followers would provide a different view of the use of leadership frames of the program directors. These views, however, will not be discussed in this study. It is acknowledged, too, that this is a qualitative study, and as such it offers only one of the possible interpretations of the phenomenon studied.

Moreover, although managerialism and NPM are to seen to make a strong impact on the UAS leadership context, the aims of this study are not to evaluate its effects on leadership practises. In other words, in a similar fashion to Mäntylä (2007, p. 3; p. 24) this study rather aims at "cherishing, nourishing and developing" managerial work at UAS than "moaning and groaning" about the adverse effects of managerialism.

5

Methods

5.1 The constructivist approach

Research is not a separate island in one's relationship with the world. Research topics and the interpretation of research findings are always in direct contact with our lives. A qualitative researcher typically chooses to study a human being and her/his world. This world, in philosophy is often referred to as lifeworld, *Lebenswelt*. Qualitative research takes place in the same *Lebenswelt* the researcher belongs to. It is not possible for a researcher in human sciences to look at the *Lebenswelt* from outside. His or her understanding of the research questions will always affect the process and results of the study. (Varto, 1992, pp. 16–17; p. 26.)

The constructivist research paradigm is based on relativist ontology, subjectivist epistemology and a naturalistic set of methodological procedures. Relativist ontology assumes that there are multiple realities; subjectivist epistemology acknowledges that meanings are co-created together by the researcher and the informant, and naturalistic methodological procedures refer to research methods which take place in a natural world. Constructivist research is evaluated through the concepts of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005.)

As explained in the previous chapter, Bolman and Deal's (2008) reframing theory is a cognitive leadership theory and represents constructivist paradigm. The basic assumption behind this view is that there is no such thing as an objective reality of an organization or leadership but that there are multiple realities which manifest themselves in different understandings. Bolman and Deal's theory of leadership frames addresses these understandings. In other words, relativist ontology in this study refers to a belief that UAS degree program directors, their followers, superiors and colleagues all con-

struct their meaning of leadership in a subjective way. UASs as organizations consist of these different understandings. In addition, the relativist ontology assumes that these meanings are constantly changing through individuals' own sensemaking and meaning making activities. It is to be assumed that if the research interviews were repeated, the meanings of leadership would have changed. However, because these realities are part of our shared lifeworld, it is possible for a researcher to have an understanding of them. Bolman and Deal's reframing theory can also be seen as an attempt to group subjective understandings into groups that represent the shared models of leadership in our shared lifeworld.

Subjectivist epistemology refers to the co-construction of meaning between the researcher and the informants. This view denies the possibility that a researcher could remain neutral and not influence the research findings; as explained at the beginning, it is impossible that the researcher would be outside the *Lebenswelt*. Co-construction of meaning in this study started when the informants received the interview invitation. The responsive interview strategy (see Chapter 5.3.5 below) was deliberately chosen to emphasize the interview as a co-construction of meaning between informant and interviewer. The life-histories and sensemaking processes of both conversational partners collided in the meaning co-construction process in each interview. The analysis process, in which only the researcher worked with the interview data, continued with the co-construction of meaning, the researcher having a continuous dialogue not only with individual informants, but with the informants as a whole, her own background and the theoretical lens she had chosen. The meaning construction and the dialogue will continue when the research is published. All readers, even possibly the original informants, who read it, will continue with their sensemaking activities in order to construct their own meaning of leadership.

A constructivist study with relativist ontology and subjectivist epistemology should be evaluated by examining the criteria of dependability, transferability, credibility and dependability. Evaluations using these criteria should take place throughout the research, not just at the end. *Dependability* refers to the way in which the research process is reported to a reader; whether it is logical, traceable and documented. *Transferability* is concerned with the researcher's responsibility to establish a connection with her/his own research and previous results. *Credibility* refers to a researcher's familiarity with the topic as well as whether the data is sufficient to substantiate the claims. In addition, credibility is concerned with the researcher's ability to make strong and logical links between observations and research categories and whether any other researcher could come relatively close to the interpretations made by the researcher with the same material. *The conformability* of a qualitative study with these ontological and epistemological accentuations refers to the researcher's capacity to link findings and interpretations to the data such that it is comprehensible (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008, p. 294.)

In the following chapters, the empirical research measures taken will be explained as transparently as possible in order to contribute to the dependability and conformability of this research.

5.2 The researcher's position

A qualitative researcher should examine and carefully scrutinize her/his own familiarity with the topic and its source for a possible bias (Cresswell, 1994, p. 147). This chapter discusses the possible bias caused by my own work history as a UAS degree program director having a personal employment history at three UASs and being a representative of the study field of business education.

All higher education researchers share the problem of being insiders within their area of research. The interviewers and interviewees are always working in the same field and very often know each other. The situation is even more problematic if a higher education insider is simultaneously a doctoral candidate, a novice researcher interviewing established members of the research community. (Gunasekara, 2007). I am a higher education insider in multiple ways. Not only have I been employed by the UAS sector since 1993, but at the time of writing, I am working as a degree program director of a business undergraduate program. This employment history influenced various choices in the research setting. The aim was, as much as possible, to benefit from my inside knowledge and, as much as possible, minimize the bias of studying one's own kind.

The idea to conduct a case study at the UAS where I work was initially rejected. Although many of the management and leadership dissertations on Finnish UASs have been carried out by the active members of UAS leadership of that particular institution (Antikainen, 2005; Toikka, 2002; Mäki, 2000¹) the idea of being simultaneously in a leadership position, knowing the history of the organization, working every day with top management and fellow middle managers was seen not only as inconvenient but also as likely to compromise the aims of this research. The decision to plan a cross-sectional research design, with no participants from my own organization was thus taken at the very beginning of the research process².

In addition, I was able to receive research funding from sources outside my own UAS and was able to break away from the everyday routines of a program director for one academic year. The fieldwork and the active analysis of the interviews were carried out during this time. Yet, escaping physically from one's own environment is much easier than shaking off the history and mental images. As stated at the beginning this chapter, the approach of subjectivist epistemology implies that it is not possible for a researcher to step aside from the the shared lifeworld for the duration of the research process. For this reason, my own mental image of a UAS organization was also likely to change during the research process. For example, my construction of the organizational culture of my own UAS was implicitly influenced by the data derived from ten other UASs and having co-constructed meanings with the 15 interviewees.

My prior mental construction of a UAS was shaped by experiences of working at three UASs under the leadership of three different rectors since the UAS establishment stage. This employment history could be regarded to be an asset to understand UAS

1. The researcher position in these studies is reflected: Antikainen (2005, pp. 229–230), Toikka (2002, pp. 213–214) and Mäki (2000, p. 277)

2. However, this rule was not applied to the pilot interviews

organizations. This experience was especially valuable here, because the studies comparing organizational cultures between the two sectors in Finnish higher education are so few. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of international studies on higher education leadership deal with traditional discipline based universities. Thus the studies on the role and work of university department heads, for example, should be critically examined in regard to the extent to which they could be applied to Finnish UAS environment.

The intimate knowledge of working in the UAS sector in a middle management position also contributed to an understanding of the existing variation among UAS program directors. According to my own experiences, there is a great variation between directors within the same UAS as well as a great variation between the directors within the same study field. Thus, a cross-sectional research design with a research objective to understand these differences was considered suitable.

However, the strongest, yet acknowledged, bias might be found to derive from the decision to choose business education as one of the study fields of this research. At the time of writing, I work on an undergraduate degree program which leads to a bachelor's degree in business administration. Moreover, the UASs I have worked for have not offered degree programs in technology or social work and health. Without intimate knowledge of the field, can one really understand what it is to educate engineers? Or is possible for an outsider to reflect how the values of social services or nursing affect e.g. communication in these degree programs? Insights into these study fields were sought by reading studies discussing the work of lecturers and students in these fields of education (e.g. Holvikivi, 2009; Tiilikkala, 2004; Kotila, 2000; Vanhanen, 2000; Hyrkkänen, 2007; Rautajoki, 2009).

However, the comparative aspect of three different study fields was built in the sampling frame (see Chapter 5.3.1) and the fact that the researcher is a native in one of these and a relative stranger to two other fields was acknowledged to cause a possible bias and required a research method that would be transparent in this respect.

Another possible source of bias was seen to arise from my leadership position. How to shed the leadership identity in favor of leadership a researcher's identity? Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008, p. 58) warn that severe problems can be caused by confusing what a researcher knows intuitively and what is known on the basis of the research evidence. Cassell (2005) suggests that both interviewer and interviewee do identity work in the interview. She questions whether it is possible for the interviewer to reflect her/his own identity work in the interview situation or whether it would be possible, as in her own experience, only afterwards. My identity work in the interviews could be seen as a struggle between my program director's and researcher's roles trying to emphasize the latter in the interview situation.

One of the possible ways to confront these biases would have been an attempt to use a positivist research paradigm and to try to look at the lifeworld from outside. However, because of the various points of criticism regarding positivist leadership studies listed e.g. in Table 4 this idea was abandoned. However, the choice was made to design a theoretically driven study which would use prior research driven methods with an attempt to provide maximum transparency in their use. In other words, a conscious attempt was made to

replace the practical intuitive leadership framework of a higher education practitioner with the theory-driven framework of a higher education researcher.

When discussing the particular problems of higher education researchers Gunasekara (2007) suggests that the insider problem is even greater if a higher education insider is simultaneously a doctoral candidate, a novice researcher interviewing established members of the research community. No such problem was presented in this study, because none of the program directors interviewed had completed doctorates. However, several had licenciate degrees (intermediate Finnish research degrees) and some were actively working for their doctoral dissertations. A common theme with these informants was discussing these plans or accomplishments either before the interview or after it. Contrary to Gunasekara's experiences, research served as method of diminishing the distance between the theme and the participants. When it happened for the first time, I was not prepared:

After the interview I described my research setting and theoretical framework. For the first time, no one has asked before, I was quite enthusiastic.

(Field notes on xx October 2008)

However, interviewing another qualitative researcher posed a challenge in one interview:

First we had coffee in the student cafeteria. X asked about my methods and studies, told about proof-reading a dissertation on [subject] at [university] using [qualitative analysis method]. Surprisingly short answers in the interview. After the interview s/he mentioned having avoided wordings that might reveal her/his the true identity. Her/his own dissertation must have caused the caution: knowledge that recordings matter.

(Field notes on xy October 2008)

5.3 Data collection methods

5.3.1 Sampling frame

This study is a cross-sectional collective case study. In a collective case study, there are a number of cases which are studied in order to investigate some general phenomenon (Silverman & Marvasti, 2008, p.164). A unit of analysis in this study was defined to be a person working in a Finnish UAS as a line-manager of UAS lecturers but not as a member of its top management team. Case selection for this study was made using a frame, which consisted of predetermined study fields and an attempt to find variation in site contexts. Site context was defined on the basis of UAS size in terms of student numbers and the city/municipality of the location.

Out of the eight study fields of Finnish UASs, the largest is the study field of technology, communication and traffic. The number of degree students in this field was 38,860 in 2008. The second largest study field is social services, health and sports with 33,239 degree students. The study field of social sciences, business and administration is the third largest study field with 27,088 degree students in 2008. Of the 132,015 degree students in 2008, these fields comprise 75 percent of the UAS total student population. (Ministry of Education, 2009, p. 72). Five cases were selected to represent each of these three study fields. The study fields are from now on referred to as “technology, “social services and health” and “business”.

Of the 26 UASs governed by the Ministry of Education in 2008, 21 were situated within a 300 km radius of Tampere. The interviewees invited to participate this study represent ten of those institutions. In five UASs two representatives were interviewed, and in five UASs a single representative was interviewed. If two program directors were interviewed at the same UAS, they represented different study fields. Table 16 illustrates the variation of UAS size in the sample.

Table 16. Sample: number of students at the UAS in 2008/educational field of the interviewees
(Source: Ministry of Education, 2009, p. 69)

	less than 4000 students	4001–6 000 students	6001–8000 students	over 8001 students
Technology	x	x	x	x x
Social services and health	x x	x	x x	
Business		x x	x x	x

The working locations of the interviewees varied from very small towns to cities of over 100,000 inhabitants. Three of the interviews were conducted in the metropolitan region.³

5.3.2 Sample size

There are no clear-cut rules for either designing or evaluating sample size in qualitative research. The sampling strategy should support the objectives and rationale of the research. The richness of the interviews and the analytical research skills are of much greater importance than the number of interviews for evaluating the meaningfulness of qualitative research. (Patton, 2002, pp. 244–245).

3. Finland is a nation of approx. 5 million inhabitants

I started with a sampling strategy of interviewing four or five program directors in the three educational fields in the fall of 2008. Keeping the chosen theoretical framework in mind, I tried to evaluate the sampling size by assessing whether I had received good leads to analyze all of the four leadership frames based on the sample. The criterion that would have urged me to organize additional interviews would have been the non-coverage of certain frames. (cf. Patton, 2002, p. 246.) In concrete terms this would have been revealed if my coding under one or two frames had been scarce or non-existent. After conducting and analyzing 15 interviews I had codings under all main frame categories and concluded that I had received enough data to construct a meaningful and hopefully rich description of the phenomenon studied.

5.3.3 Scheduling interviews

In order to find interviewees, I needed inside contacts within different UASs. Firstly, these contacts served to provide information on the internal organizational structures of UASs; secondly they smoothed my path towards interview appointments by introducing me to prospective interviewees. The information on internal organizational structures was very valuable because the organizational charts, if they were open for the public, would most often not reveal who serve as line-managers of UAS lecturers at each UAS and in which positions.

In order to create such an inside network, I applied for and received permission from a steering group of a Ministry funded nation-wide UAS network project called KEKO. KEKO operated 2007–2009 as a joint project of UASs in order to collaborate on defining the changing role of a UAS teacher. The majority of the final interviewees (n=9) for this study were found through KEKO project contacts. In addition, I received valuable information through the project contacts about the prevailing situation in the participating UASs and this helped me not to approach UASs in which top management was responsible for the management of the faculty or UASs where the position of existing program directors was for some reason threatened. Finally, three interviewees were contacted through my own professional and educational networks and one of these interviewees helped me later to find another interviewee at the same UAS. Two interviewees were contacted directly without any liaison person. I had met another of these briefly in connection with work in spring 2008 and at that time requested an interview. One interviewee was contacted simply by sending a request by e-mail without any prior contact or liaison person.

The liaison person strategy turned out to be valuable not only when leading up to scheduling interviews but also providing information on UASs which ultimately were not visited. In these UASs there were internal negotiations ongoing regarding the positions of program directors. A direct contact to a person who would be in such a situation

would probably have caused awkward situations and if for some reason the request had led to an interview, most likely it would have been a very cautious interview⁴.

The liaison persons were asked to find interviewees in leadership positions. The only stipulation was that they should have some experience, meaning that they should not have started in the present position during that academic year.

An e-mail message introducing the purpose of the research aim was sent to each prospective interviewee. They were requested to reserve 1.5 hours for the interview, although the interview was estimated to last approximately 1 hour. An example of such a note is given in Appendix 1. The note acknowledged me as a fellow program director on study leave and promised full anonymity of the interviewees in all subsequent phases of the research. All fifteen interview requests led to an interview. Only in one case could a slight hesitation be detected at the time of making the appointment. Because of distance, in two UASs two interviews were scheduled for one day, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. The rest of the interviews were conducted one per day at a time convenient to both parties.

Six of the interviewees were female and nine were male. This imbalance is due to the fact that all the program directors interviewed in the field of technology were male. The interviewees' ages were not asked, but two interviewees voluntarily commented on being close to retirement age. All but one interviewee had worked as a lecturer or principal lecturer before being selected as program director. Eight interviewees reported that they had leadership experience prior to their present positions.

The interviewees had eight different titles in the Finnish language. In nine titles the ending was "päällikkö" (manager) and in seven "johtaja" (director). However, the English renderings varied as well. The English translations of "Head", "Manager" or "Director" did not necessarily convey any differences in the interviewees' status or authority. In some cases the title "johtaja" had been translated as "manager", in some cases as "director" and in some cases as a "head". In addition there were examples that the Finnish titles "koulutusohjelmajohtaja" and "koulutusjohtaja" had both been translated as "Head of Degree Program".

The span of control among the interviewees ranged from 6 to 50 followers per program director. Both the mean and the median were 20 followers per program director. In addition to having lecturers as their subordinates, in the study field of technology the program directors were responsible for leading professionals with titles such as project or laboratory engineers.

In order to ensure the anonymity of the interviewees, in this report the program directors will be referred to with codes D1–D15 not specifying their educational field or gender.

4. This could be anticipated, because it happened despite all the arrangements described above. One of the interviewees had in between the time of making the appointment and the actual interview heard that the degree program s/he was heading would be abolished and her/his position in the future was uncertain. This was revealed in the middle of the interview and explained the cautious answers during the first half of the interview.

5.3.4 Interview strategy

For an interpretive constructivist approach which aims at understanding the meanings of leadership, the natural choice for a researcher is to use observation or in-depth interviews or both (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 2). The choice of in-depth interviews for this study was not a difficult one. Because the cross-sectional nature of the research design, prolonged field observation would not have been possible. Written material e.g. in the form of the e-mails the leaders send to their followers might have been extremely valuable research material, but was not available for research purposes.

Lessons learned from the pilot interviews

Two pilot interviews were conducted one year before the research interviews, in the autumn of 2007. Both interviewees worked as program directors, one in the field of technology and the other in the field of business. The pilot interviews were useful both for the theoretical as well as the methodological orientation of the research design. The first pilot interview tested the suitability of the provisional theoretical framework. The interview guide for this pilot interview was created on the basis of Viitala's (2002) dissertation and framework of knowledge leadership (see also Keskinen, 2006). However, the pilot interview revealed that the transformational exemplary leadership role built in the framework was so forcefully rejected by the pilot interviewee that a decision was made to abandon the framework and interview guide altogether.

The second pilot interview was designed to be as open as possible. The pilot interviewee was asked to describe certain events in his leadership path in a very general way. However, when I listened to the tape after the interview, it was obvious that in discussing the environmental changes, the interviewee was thinking about other changes than I was. The interviewee was discussing organizational changes while I was thinking about more general changes in the role of a UAS lecturer (see e.g. Laakkonen, 1999; 2003; Auvinen, 2004; 2008). A similar pattern could also be discerned in the first pilot interview. In that pilot interview the focus was mainly concentrating on discussing the rapid changes in teaching content whereas I was inspired by the work of e.g. Laakkonen (2003) and Auvinen (2004) thinking about the changing environment more from a pedagogical point of view.

This turned out to be a very valuable lesson and had, together with Rubin and Rubin's (2005) guidebook for responsive interviewing, a major effect on the design of the interviews. Rubin and Rubin (2005, p. 29) warn that before the researcher can understand how others construct their meanings, one's own conceptions and biases have first to be discovered and reflected. I learned that the meaning of change in the UAS environment needed to be approached with a more attentive way and I should concentrate on listening to how the interviewees constructed it.

5.3.5 Responsive interviewing

In order to illustrate their idea of responsive interviewing, Rubin and Rubin (2005, pp. 14–15) prefer to call the interviewees conversational partners. They regard qualitative interviews as extensions of normal discussion and emphasize their dynamic and flexible nature. Rubin and Rubin see qualitative interviews as windows into the world of one person at a time and although the researcher has a specific research question in mind, they think that it makes no sense to ask the same questions each time. In the responsive interview interviewers modify the questions to match the unique experience of the interviewee.

The responsive interview approach is consistent with the goals of interpretive constructionist research: the researcher wants to discover how the conversational partners understand their world, what they have seen, heard, gone through (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 37). The researcher should be alert to follow new trails of thought if such appear in the interview and not slavishly follow a predetermined interview guide. This is, after all, what a qualitative researcher is trying to do: understand different interpretations of her/his research topic.

In this study the responsive interviewing strategy was chosen in order to emphasize the constructivist nature of research design. It emphasizes the chosen subjectivist epistemology; the uniqueness of each interviewee's own sensemaking processes and the active role of a researcher constantly trying to make sense of the research topic.

The interviews were designed to be flexible and it was acknowledged beforehand that the order of questions might vary. In addition, if the interviewee said something which would give a lead to another area not anticipated or if the lead could be followed and if the lead was important, the theme could be added to the following interviews.

Rubin and Rubin (2005, pp. 114–122) advice interviewers to build interview relationships through a series of linked stages. In the first phase the researcher's goal is to build trust by introducing her/himself and the topic. The first questions should focus on the research topic, but it should be designed in such a way that the conversational partner feels comfortable with them. Tough, sensitive or difficult questions should be asked in the middle of the interview. The emotional strain should then be toned down towards the end of the interview.

In addition, a researcher should distinguish between the need for main questions, follow-up questions and probes. *Main questions* are used to discuss the research topic in a language and terminology which is easy for the conversational partner to relate to. These questions are usually planned beforehand. *Follow-up questions* are created on the basis of the interviewee's answer. These are needed when the researcher wants to explore the issue further. *Probes* are questions which are needed to encourage the conversational partner to keep on talking on this issue. (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, pp. 134–144.)

In order to succeed in responsive interviewing the interviewer should make the arrangements in a fashion conducive to total concentration. Tired or nervous interviewers do not necessarily notice the possibilities arising. (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, pp. 79–80.) The research notes should be written up and each interview transcribed as quickly as

possible after the interview. This should always be done before the next interview takes place. (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, pp. 203–304). The follow-up questions, although appearing spontaneous often actually arise from the lessons learned from theory or from earlier interviews. (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, pp. 136–137).

Braun and Clarke (2006) distinguish between three kinds of questions needed in qualitative research: the research question(s), the questions put to the participants, and the questions that guide the coding and analysis of the data.

There is no necessary relationship between these three, and it is often desirable that there is a disjuncture between them. Some of the worst examples of “thematic” analysis we have read have simply used the questions put to participants as the “themes” identified in the “analysis” although in such instances, no analysis has really been done at all.

This approach served as a key to interview design, in other words, the interview questions were not derived from reframing theory. In other words, I did not, for example, ask the interviewees to describe the coalitions they build to get what they want and code these answers under the theme of political frame related actions. Instead, the aim was to encourage the interviewees to talk about their work and their perceptions of leadership in UASs and try to listen to whether they talked e.g. on coalition building or other actions related to the use of the political frame. The interview was constructed on three larger sensemaking themes:

- 1) How do the program directors make sense of their roles in the organization?
- 2) How do the program directors make sense of change?
- 3) How do the program directors make sense of leadership?

These themes were approached with before *main* questions planned in advance (cf. Rubin & Rubin 2005, pp. 134–135) as illustrated in Table 17.

Table 17. Interview themes and main questions in the interviews

Interview theme	Main questions
How do the program directors make sense of their own roles in the organization?	Selection: How did you end up in a leadership position? Personal experience: What do you like about your job? What is frustrating? Time management: Do you have a typical day at work? What takes most of your time annually? Position: What is the role of the program director between top management and faculty? How many faculty belong to your team? What would be the ideal number? In the future, do you see UAS organizations flattening?
How do the program directors make sense of change?	Changes in the environment: What environmental changes have affected UASs and your work during the time you have been in your present leadership position? Please discuss the environmental changes that will take place in the UAS environment in the next five years? How will they affect your work? Do you think that you now have tasks that are not needed in the future? Own development: What is difficult in the work? What kind of support would you like to have for your leadership? How have you changed as a leader? What kind of feedback have you received? How would you like to develop your leadership skills? How do you try to improve your feedback giving skills?
How do the program directors make sense of leadership?	Appreciation: What kind of leadership do you appreciate? Could you describe a case of exemplary leadership in your UAS? Could you describe a case of inadequate leadership in your UAS? Is leadership discussed in your UAS? Expectations: What are the expectations of the teachers/students/top management/working life regarding your work? Are these expectations contradictory? How do you balance these expectations? Advice: If your friend were to start as a program director, what advice would you give?

The order of the questions was planned according to Rubin and Rubin's advice with a warm-up question. It usually started with a request for a narrative: "how did you end up in a leadership position?" This question was not only easy to answer but very often also conveyed how long the interviewee had worked at the UAS and whether s/he had leadership experience from other places than UAS. Most interviews ended with the question: "If your friend were to start as a program director, what advice would you give." This was intended to tone down the emotion of the interview.

5.3.6 Conducting the interviews

The interviews were conducted in Finnish. The 15 taped interviews lasted 1 hour 4 minutes on average. The shortest lasted for 54 minutes and the longest 1 hour and 22 minutes. The introductions were not recorded. In some interviews the interviewees offered me coffee before the actual interview and that discussion over the coffee was not recorded. In these cases the chat over the coffee served to minimize the distance between the conversational partners and me. Three interviews were held in conference rooms, the rest in the offices of the respective program directors.

The general atmosphere in all interviews was very concentrated. I felt that the program directors had reserved the time for the interview and seemed to give it their

full attention at that time. In addition to their ability to concentrate, their communication skills and their ability for self-reflection contributed greatly to the quality of the interviews. That was, as such, no surprise, it could be expected that in a program director's position one has to have communication skills above average. The length of individual answers varied greatly from very short and rapid to very long (10 minutes per question) answers.

However, the high-level communication skills of interviewees also posed challenges for me as a researcher. Casual references to "competence management", "knowledge management", "coaching" were offered readily and it was up to me to remember to stop and ask for the meaning the interviewees had created themselves for the content of the meaning. Example:

D9: ...However, in my opinion a human point of view is needed in leadership and, indeed, wellbeing management and competence management (asiantuntijuuden johtaminen), I believe, those are the success factors in the future.

Interviewer: We already discussed wellbeing management, but what do you mean by competence management?

D9: Well, that we take care and make it possible that people are able to develop their own competence, own expertise. In addition, that the expertise is respected and the respect is shown. What kind of expert is someone who is allowed to teach in a classroom full of young people coming straight from secondary school, but would not be allowed to, or would not have expertise that a person who has been in working life for 20 years has. It challenges the work of lecturers. But it also creates expertise, I believe so.

Later on, when coding these references, I carefully tried to strip the contents from the label attached in the interview and see whether the content belonged to the structural frame or the human resource frame, because both interpretations of e.g. "competence management" were evident in the data⁵. Some of the interviewees had created a meaning of the term to cover a management approach that would ensure the right amount of the right resources in the right place, whereas some interviewees emphasized very human resource frame related thoughts about the fit between personal development aspirations and the organization's goals. In addition, some interviewees constructed a meaning that would cover both of these aspects.

In three interviews I followed Rubin and Rubin's advice (2005, p. 37) to follow the lead of the interviewee to move to other paths than what is written in the interview guide. It was customary in these interviews, as I noticed during the first minutes, that these

5. A similar conclusion is drawn by Mabey (2003). According to him, the structural frame orientation to human resource development (HRD) is provided to meet the needs of the organization, and the human resource frame orientation to HRD is provided to develop individuals and their skills. Mabey also distinguishes between the political and symbolic frame orientation to HRD. The political frame regards HRD as a political activity which is needed to gain access to knowledge and power, whereas symbolic frame orientation to HRD emphasizes that HRD activities have multiple meanings.

three were willing to tell me their unique stories, if I would just let them. For example, when asking one program director about the rewards of leadership s/he replied:

D14: Well, you made quite a question! I could say that the job of program director in our organization... is very much unwanted. It has been extremely difficult to recruit into these positions and the turn-over has been extremely high. Typically one does not want to these jobs.

For a researcher not to follow this path, not to ask why this was the case, would in light of Rubin and Rubin's recommendations have been extremely foolish. According to the principles of the responsive interview this could be regarded as a lead to discuss what the interviewee had in mind when promising to discuss leadership with a researcher. This was the story s/he wanted to tell. What followed was a very interesting comparison between leadership practises in companies, traditional universities and UASs, this particular interviewee had experience of all sectors and thought that leadership in UASs was the most problematic of these three. The comparison led to an analysis for the reasons of the situation in UASs and a description of how the interviewee was trying to change the culture. At another interview I wrote in my field notes:

The interview is sidetracked, but I let it go. I reach something new. Internalized pedagogical thinking, quality consciousness. On the other hand, management system quite dispersed. A very tired person. (Field notes xx October, 2008)

In order to construct the meaning, I also made concluding comments to check whether I had understood the answer. For example, a program director compared the leadership in the organization he had previously worked in and commented:

D8: ...usually in the private sector it is clear that if it is a limited company you have to achieve results. Otherwise the work is not continuing. But in the municipal sector here, it is not so clear. I do not know if one could get support from anywhere to make it so. I feel it would much easier to argue why we are doing it in this way. If we don't, we won't have work in a short while. But here it's not working like that.

Interviewer: In other words you think that steering by results would help you in this.

D8: Yes, a good conclusion. This is what I mean, that was very good. In my opinion, it is very clear, and both parties understand that I as a leader do not have to argue so much, because both parties understand the situation.

After each interview, the tape was listened to and a preliminary transcription was made at the same time as the field notes were typed. This was done as soon as possible and only in exceptional cases was not done before the next interview was conducted.

The final transcription was made by a professional and the 15 interviews yielded 198 pages of transcribed text in Finnish (Arial 12 points, single-spaced). I checked the transcriptions by playing the tapes and filling the existing blank spots in the transcription.

5.4 Analysis methods

5.4.1 Content analysis vs. thematic analysis

Content analysis can be used with either quantitative or qualitative data. Content analysis as a systematic analysis of texts dates back to the 17th century. In the late 19th century content analysis was mainly used for the measurement of newspaper column inches dedicated to particular subjects. These applications of quantitative content analysis soon also led to the measurement of coverage in radio, movie and television (Krippendorff, 2004a, pp. 3–6.)

Qualitative orientations to content analysis have their origin in literary theory, social sciences and critical scholarship (Krippendorff, 2004a, p. 7). According to Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2002, p. 93) content analysis can be used in all traditions of qualitative research. They claim that most qualitative analysis methods are, in one way or another, based on content analysis.

Krippendorff (2004a, pp. 18–19) states that “content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from text (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use”. Krippendorff’s definition emphasizes that content analysis is a technique, in other words it is a scientific tool that can be learned and involves specialized procedures. The definition stresses that the results of content analysis must be replicable: different researchers at different times should obtain the same results. In addition, this definition emphasizes the requirement for valid results: research procedures should be open to careful scrutiny and the claims should hold in the face of independently available evidence. In other words, Krippendorff’s definition of content analysis places it strictly in the positivist paradigm.

The requirement to produce replicable results is seen in the content analysis tradition, which favors research settings with at least two independent coders or validity checks with expert panels. This tradition typically requires calculations of agreement coefficients between different coders or content validity indices between panel members and the researcher (Krippendorff, 2004b; Latvala & Vanhanen-Nuutinen, 2001). A test-retest method can be used if the study is heavily dependent on the context and the analysis requires an in-depth understanding of the data. A test-retest method refers to a practise in which an individual researcher codes the data again after some time period. (Latvala & Vanhanen-Nuutinen, 2001.)

On the other hand, Graneheim and Lundman (2004) note that texts carry multiple meanings and differing interpretations cannot be avoided. Moreover, Graneheim and

Lundman (2004), after reviewing the literature on the qualitative use of content analysis, state that it “shows different opinions and unsolved issues regarding meaning and use of concepts, procedures and interpretation in qualitative content analysis.”

One additional source of disagreement between different researchers is the role of deductive qualitative content analysis. Elo and Kyngäs (2008) maintain that the purpose of deductive content analysis is theory testing. Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2002, p. 99) disagree and argue that theory testing in this sense is not consistent with the European qualitative research tradition.

Content analysis processes should be systematic and objective. Silverman (2006, p. 159) suggests that the following steps should be taken in the content analysis process:

1. Select particular texts relevant to your research problem
2. Sample texts if there are too many to analyze completely.
3. Construct a coding frame (categorization scheme) that fits both the theoretical considerations and the materials.
4. Pilot and revise the coding frame and explicitly define the coding rules.
5. Test the reliability of codes, and sensitize coders to ambiguities.
6. Code all materials in the sample, and establish the overall reliability of the process.
7. Set up a data file for the purpose of statistical analysis.
8. Write a codebook including (a) the rationale of the coding frame, (b) the frequency distribution of all codes; and (c) the reliability of the coding process.

Silverman (2006, p. 163) considers that content analysis is a valuable tool for qualitative researchers because it allows the researcher to simplify and reduce a large amount of data. However, Silverman points out that the advantages are gained at a cost. Content analysis uses pre-designed categories in much the same way as quantitative researchers use operational definitions at the beginning of the research. For this reason, Silverman argues that “The theoretical basis of qualitative content analysis is at best unclear and this means that, unfortunately, its conclusions can often seem trite”. Bryman (2004), too, in his review of qualitative leadership studies comments on content analysis in a similar fashion:

While content analysis is undoubtedly a technique that is applied to qualitative data, it is not in itself a qualitative technique. In many ways, its emphasis on quantification and on objective, reliable and replicable coding rules exemplifies quantitative research rather than qualitative research.

The systematicity and objectivity of the content analysis process are also emphasized by Anttila (2005, pp. 293–294), who stresses that each analysis step has to be taken only in order to obtain answers to the research questions. A researcher cannot subjectively change the aims while coding and deviant cases need to be analyzed, too. Anttila also suggests that redoing the analysis or using other coders would guarantee the objectivity of content analysis. In addition, in Anttila’s view, the aims of content analysis have to

exceed the level of merely providing a description of the phenomenon. The research results have to relate to the definition of the phenomenon or connect to the cultural, financial or social background in general.

There are differing views on whether thematic analysis is a synonym for qualitative content analysis. Thematic analysis is a method to find repeated patterns of meanings across the data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Boyatzis, 1998). Boyatzis (1998, pp. 4–5) suggests that thematic analysis can be used as a way of seeing, a way of making sense of seemingly unrelated material, a way of analyzing qualitative information, a way of systematically observing a person, an interaction, a group, a situation, an organization, or a culture, a way of converting qualitative information into quantitative data. A theme (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 4.) “is a pattern found in the information that at minimum describes and organizes the possible observations and at maximum interprets aspect of the phenomenon.”

According to Braun and Clark (2006), the difference between content analysis and thematic analysis is that content analysis is based on counting and thus allows quantitative analysis of what was originally qualitative data whereas thematic analysis tends not to do so. In addition, Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that thematic analysis should be seen as a qualitative analysis method in its own right, whereas Boyatzis (1998, p. 4) believes that instead of a separate method for qualitative inquiry, thematic analysis should be regarded as a process used as a part of many qualitative methods.

The fundamental question seems to be, whether the counting of items in pre-determined categories turns the theoretical base of a qualitative study on a somewhat unclear basis and pulls it in a positivistic direction. Boyatzis (1998, p. xiii; p. 145) claims that the value of thematic analysis is that it offers a bridge to combine the rich unique qualitative material and the precision and reliability of quantitative methods and admits that this bridge might from another point of view also be regarded as “satanic perversion”. However, Boyatzis states that thematic analysis can also yield data that can be used in a descriptive way. Boyatzis (1998, p. 129) advises that this type of use of thematic analysis is useful when the sample size is small or when the chosen methodologies require it.

However, Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that thematic analysis is a valuable tool in particular because of its flexibility and theoretical freedom. According to them, thematic analysis can be used as a realist/essentialist, constructionist or even as a contextualist method. Nevertheless, because of this freedom, it is necessary that the researcher should make clear the epistemological assumptions behind the study. In addition, the researcher has to question and explicitly report the choices which have been made.

A similar kind of position is taken by King (2004), who suggests that a wide variety of epistemological choices can be approached through this kind of analysis. However, King’s vocabulary differs from that of Braun and Clarke as he prefers the term template analysis to thematic analysis. According to King, template analysis is a set of techniques in qualitative analysis which can be applied to studies with different epistemological assumptions. King argues that the concern for coding reliability becomes irrelevant if it is acknowledged that multiple interpretations can be made of any phenomenon. A researcher assuming this position should seek for richness of description and attempt

to approach the topic from multiple perspectives and increase her/his the reflexivity. In addition, King suggests that it is highly problematic to carry out content analysis on the assumption that the frequency of the code corresponds to its salience.

Figure 3 presents a coherent picture of the various terminological differences between content and thematic analysis and their subdivisions to what Elo and Kyngäs (2008) call deductive and inductive content analysis, Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2002) theory-based, theory-driven and inductive content analysis, Braun and Clarke (2006) inductive versus theory-driven thematic analysis and Boyatzis (1998, p. 29) theory-driven, prior-research driven and inductive code development.

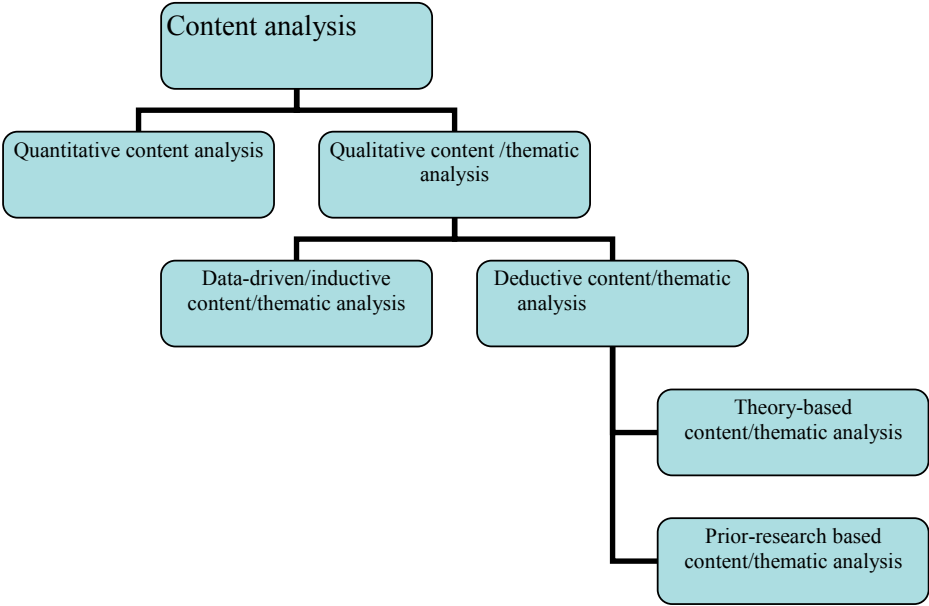


Figure 3. Content analysis

The preparation phase is similar in the inductive and deductive approaches to qualitative content analysis. At that phase the researcher selects the unit of analysis (e.g. interviews) and by immersing herself in the data tries to make sense of it and understand what is going on. The inductive process starts with open coding, coding sheets and results in grouping, categorization and abstraction of the phenomena. The deductive process follows a different logic. The first step is to develop a categorization matrix. The categorization matrix may be based on existing theories. A researcher can either stick with a structured matrix or choose only data that fit the matrix or use the structured matrix for all the aspects that fit into it and for the aspects which do not fit in, create new codes based on the principles of inductive content analysis. (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008.)

The value of prior-research driven thematic analysis according to Boyatzis (1998, p. 37; pp. 99–100) is evident when the aims of the study are to contribute to the development of knowledge in the field either by replicating, extending or refuting former

research. The researcher may also use a pre-existing code because of lack of faith of her/his own skills. A third reason to use a prior code is the researcher's attempt to change by building it on the preceding one. However, there are problems connected to its use. By accepting a prior code, the researcher accepts the biases, projections and assumptions of the preceding researcher. In addition, as Boyatzis points out, the existing codes should be used in the same or similar contexts as in the earlier study.

Prior research driven thematic analysis should go through the following stages: Stage 1. deciding on sampling and design issues; Stage 2a. generating a code from prior research, 2b. reviewing and rewriting the code for applicability to the raw information, 2c. determining the reliability; Stage 3a. applying the code to the raw information, 3b. determining validity and 3c. interpreting the results. (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 44.)

Braun and Clarke's (2006) choice is to call an analysis which is driven by a researcher's theoretical interest a theoretical thematic analysis. They note that theoretical thematic analysis usually provides detailed analysis of some aspect of the data rather than a rich overall description. Boyatzis (1998, p. 33) considers that theory-driven coding is the most frequently used approach in social science research, although the disciplines vary in their acceptance of thematic analysis as a research process.

The chosen strategy in this study is to use the term thematic analysis instead of qualitative content analysis or template analysis. The term is used here in a similar fashion to Braun and Clarke (2006), firstly because it is argued that thematic analysis is a qualitative analysis method in its own right and not a process belonging to another qualitative research method and secondly it is argued that the method can be very flexible both when it comes to the epistemology and the possibility to use or not to use quantification in analysis. The epistemological background in reframing theory is merely a constructivist discussing particularly how people make sense of world in individual and changing ways. However, the quantitative element is built into the research setting through the reframing theory by stating that managers use one to four frames. In other words, it is claimed that thematic analysis offers possibilities to use Bolman and Deal's (2008) reframing theory in order to understand the individual sense-making and meaning making processes not only in a systematic and rigorous way, but also in a way that contributes to the long chain of Bolman and Deal studies in the field of higher education. In other words, this study is done on the assumption that the use of pre-existing code, or the use of quantification to the extent it is used here, is not seen to threaten the constructivist basis of the research design.

This means that this study is both theory-driven and pre-research driven. It is acknowledged that theory-drivenness implies that the investigation of program directors' multiple worlds is limited to four frames. However, the attempt here is to describe these frames as richly and originally as the data and researcher's capacity allow. The reporting will follow the practise of Kezar et al. (2008) and their thematic analysis of college presidents in which they drew a "composite example". In this study the composite examples will be drawn on the directors' leadership frames. These composite examples are also linking this study to Birnbaum's way of presenting his imaginary five presidents in "How Colleges Work" (1988).

Pre-research drivenness here refers to the fact that the coding book for this study was built on combining two previously used coding charts by Heimovics et al. (1993) and Bolman and Deal (1991b).

5.4.2 Coding book

A unit of coding in thematic analysis is “the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon.” The choice of unit of coding should be based on theoretical justification. (Boyatzis 1998, pp. 63–64). The unit of coding in this study was either a frame related thought or a frame related action. This practise thus followed the tradition of earlier reframing studies (Bensimon, 1989; Bolman and Deal, 1991b; Heimovics et al., 1993). In order to distinguish between the following, a hypothetical question was asked as to whether the statement uttered by a program director reflected behavior that could be observed and verified by someone. If not, it was coded as a frame-related thought.

A unit of coding in this study was defined in such a way that a unit could consist of few words, one sentence or a longer paragraph of many sentences. In addition, it was possible to code the same content into several codes if deemed appropriate, e.g. it was thought to refer to the use of two frames simultaneously. For example, as *D9* gave an example of promoting a joint teaching experiment and noted that it also contributed to the lecturer’s professional growth, I coded it under human resource related actions under both subgroups of “training” and “processes of participation and involvement”.

A coding book was developed using the coding charts provided by the qualitative content analysis studies of Bolman and Deal (1991b) with minor adjustments. These adjustments are explained in the coding book, which is presented as Appendix 2. However, the two levels of coding (the frame-level and the immediate subgroup) used in these studies to analyze written leadership narratives did not seem sufficient to get a grasp of the rich interview data, and thus third-level subgroups were added to the coding book. For example, as one of the second-level codes of structural frame related issues is “references to analysis and planning”, the third level included subgroups such as financial planning, workload planning and competence analysis.

The coding book includes examples of each coding group as well as the quantification of the codes. The quantification, however, was used only as a measure to decide whether the use of a particular frame was seen in a particular program director’s interview. A minimum of two codings in the group of frame-related actions was needed in order to classify the interviewee as a user of a particular frame. To increase the transparency of coding, the work process was carried through using qualitative analysis software NVIVO8 (Bringer, 2004).

6

The four frames of program directors

6.1 Structural frame

6.1.1 Utilization of the structural frame

The interviews indicate that the structural leadership frame is both needed and used in UAS program leadership. All interviewees described structural frame-related actions and discussed issues relating to the use of the structural frame. The need for tight couplings both between the plans and actions and between the goals and actions in the work of a program director seems to be unquestioned.

The coding groups and number of coded references are listed in Appendix 2. The themes for structural frame-related issues were 1) goals, roles, and expectations, 2) coordination and control, 3) issues around policies and procedures, 4) references to analysis and planning. The coding groups for structural frame related actions were 1) reorganizing, 2) implementing or clarifying policies and procedures, 3) developing new information, budgeting, or control systems, 4) adding new structural units, and 5) planning processes.

The major theme uniting all these groups is the search for rational thinking and rational action in the organization. Thus the answer to the research question: how do the program directors use structural leadership, might be answered by describing a program director's behavior as a *constant search for rationality in the program director's own environment* (Figure 4). If the program directors perceive their organizations to operate in a rational way, they want to strengthen the existing tight couplings between the sub-systems. If, on the other hand, they perceive some systems to be loosely coupled and find them functioning in an irrational way, their structural frame-related answer would be to make the couplings tighter and attack the irrationality.

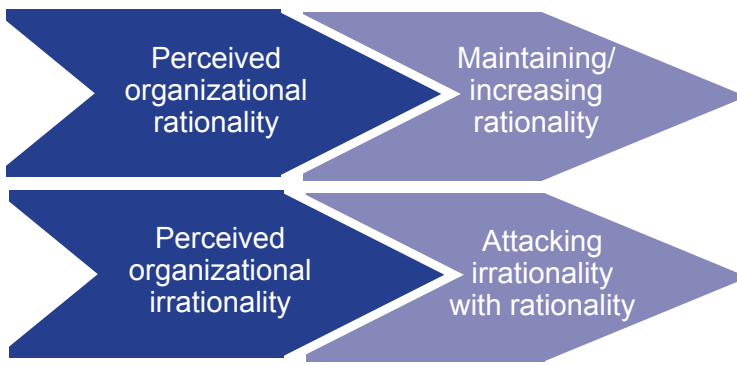


Figure 4. Interpretation of the use of the structural frame in the program director's work

In the following I endeavor to give a rich description of the phenomenon in the study context in two different ways. First, a description of the pursuit of rationality is given in Chapter 6.1.2. and second, “a composite example” of the use of structural frame in the program director's work by introducing, Petra the Program Manager, in Chapter 6.1.3.

6.1.2 The pursuit of rationality

A smooth match can be found if a program director considers that the UAS is operating in a rational way and if s/he is personally willing to carry out her/his own work in an equally rational manner. The structural frame encourages program directors' participation in organizational activities in a way which can be anticipated. As long as the director is working according to the expectations of top management, a certain freedom of operation within the director's own program can be achieved.

But on the other hand, we are given independence for the operations. This is good. As long as we keep the strategies in mind, and act accordingly. *D15*

If thus the organizational frame and the individual frame coincide, i.e. there seems to be a willingness to achieve a tight coupling between the work of the program director and the planning system of the UAS, the work of a program director can be described as “fifty-fifty planning and coordinating the operations” (*D11*). Planning is thus seen as a way for a program director to influence and even change the organization. In addition, planning, either as a solitary act of a program director, or planning with and in a team, can be seen to be a central part of program director's job. The annual operation plan combining the course offerings and faculty workloads was seen as the “iron structure” for the program director's work.

D10: Well the basic structure needs to be in order. If basic structures start to collapse, there is no need for further leadership efforts. It must be so. It is like an iron structure for one's own work.

Interviewer: What do you mean here with the basic structures?

D10: Well, a well-planned operational year. The tasks of the lecturers need to be confirmed in order to see that everything is accomplished. A certain level of job satisfaction will thus be achieved and the students can be sure that this institution can be trusted. You can start building your leadership on the basis of this. Maybe this is how I see it.

Planning can be rewarding at a personal level, too. Involvement in future planning offers a program director a chance to rise above from the operational, every-day routine affairs. The program director's position, not only provides a means to exert influence in the organization, but also offers a chance to see the big picture of the organization in financial terms.

I want to have influence. If I see that some processes are poor, I want to have influence over them. And I want to see how this organization works. I want to know it. The grass-root-level employees here, they do not have any idea of the budgets and such. I want to see and know about the financial developments. If the finances are developing in this way, we must make or must not to make certain recruitment decisions. *D14*

Planning skills do not come easily to everyone, but they can, and must be learned if one wishes to survive as a program director:

I wondered sometimes how my fellow program directors were able to run the show when everything was in complete chaos. It was not systematic at all. At some point I started to think that there is a huge conflict. It typical for me personally that there is one sock looking for a pair in my closet, my wife is a nervous wreck. I feel no need to organize such matters. But at a certain stage of the leadership career, somehow learning from one's own experience I somehow realized that I must work in a more systematic way. If you are not systematic in your own work, you never get people to behave according to the expectations. *D4*

Clearly defined performance targets would help the program director to link their own actions even better to the UAS management system.

I wish that we had even more defined targets and indicators for what I should accomplish. We have discussed this, what it means that we are international. How many students should I send on student exchange? How many faculty members should be sent on teaching exchange? If it is two of my 14 lecturers that should go on the teaching exchange, I will then work towards that. If we do not have any goals regarding what internationalization

means, it is difficult to work towards it. Clear goals are steering this job, and in a similar way they are steering the work of the faculty. *D2*

A well-defined rational system would also help program directors and other organizational members to use the chain of command. In a rational system all members of the organization are expected to know the scope and limits of the authority of the position. The interviews indicated that the use of a chain of command is not only accepted but also appreciated by the program directors. One cannot expect one's own subordinates to respect the chain of command without personally accepting the rules of organizational hierarchy and obeying one's own superiors.

You cannot get everything and you cannot get through all ideas you believe in. If the top management decides it in another way, or the board decides it in another way, it means that it will be the way of doing it. End of discussion. *D1*

If a lecturer doesn't get a promise from me, s/he will go to the next level. But neither our unit director nor the UAS rector will go along. I think it is very positive, they always ask for my recommendation. I know that in the past someone went to see the rector requesting a permission to go here and there. Because I have responsibility for the budget, I must naturally know what happens. It would not be right if another person decided on something that would affect the budget. *D1*

In a rational system, the work of faculty can be approached as a set of competences which can be analyzed and planned systematically. The analysis starts with a careful investigation of competences needed and a comparison of these with skills available. To fill the gaps, not only systematic training, but also systematic competence recruitment is needed.

It should be promoted in a positive spirit that all the time every faculty member needs to develop her/his own competences and own courses. One should not actually remain where one is, which is what lecturers very easily tend to do, at least many. *D7*

The structural frame tends to direct leaders to search for structural ways of remedying problems and attacking the irrationality in the system. The program directors interviewed reported of their own attempts to build better information systems, better evaluation systems and better planning systems. However, this is not always easy. Although the program directors themselves do not find it difficult to be part the UAS chain of command and to accept the organizational hierarchy, it seems that this is not always the case with faculty. The autonomy of the lecturer seems to pose something of a challenge to the smoothly running organizational system.

I dare to say that teachers are not the easiest to lead and submitting oneself to a position to be led and to be a subordinate has sometimes turned out to be quite challenging. This is because on the one hand, strong independence is expected of teachers when it comes

to teaching and its development. If one then interferes with their working methods or with something that has not been accomplished, quite a defensive reaction follows. I have found these situations quite difficult. *D5*

The interviews indicated that program directors need to work with procedures and rules which are not always considered rational. For instance, the rules for faculty work allocation, which should promote rational and fair treatment of all organizational members, often seem to work in the opposite direction and, in light of the program directors' comments, could be seen to actually promote inequality in the UAS organization.

It seems to go on year after year, that top management decides how much time is allocated for course preparation. They say half an hour for each contact lesson, sometimes even more. But everyone knows that it will not be sufficient if a lecturer is serious about the work, tutoring students, taking care of the assignments, planning them, trying to improve them every year, marking the papers and arranging an examination. Half an hour is not enough. I know that it is enough for some faculty members who plan the course implementation in a way that requires minimal preparation. But it is not enough to guarantee good teaching in all subjects. *D7*

I am not at all sure, if it is very rational to decide faculty working hours by dividing them into a certain amount of teaching and a certain amount of planning. Lecturers' work is not structured like that any more. I believe that the degree of freedom should be greater. *D9*

Integration has many meanings in the program directors' vocabulary. Integration can be seen to be one of the favorite attempts of a program director to have an effect on the structure of the organization. All definitions of integration refer to breaking the great divide between subjects, disciplines or specialities. The term integration can be used to refer to having multiple lecturers in the same classroom, sharing the teaching of a particular course or to another kind of an arrangement linking separate courses together. Integration like this falls often under the authority of a program director and might even strengthen her/his role:

I believe that it (the role of leadership) will be more important for example when these subjects are integrated together, mathematics, languages and these professional subjects. It would then involve so many parties and the change must be implemented in practise. In this case the role of leadership will be given even more emphasis. *D7*

The decisions on the internal structure with regard to the line management decisions of the faculty are not for the program director to make, and many commented on recent changes in the internal arrangements concerning leadership of mathematics and language lecturers, whether they are placed in separate organizational units or under the line management relationship of a program director. The responses varied between

warmly welcoming the lecturers of general subjects to the groups that used to consist solely of lecturers in subject field specific areas to slightly sceptical comments on how much the program director, if trained in a very core professional subject, would be able to support lecturers in totally different subjects.

To conclude, it might be argued that no program director can survive in a Finnish UAS without thinking and acting through the structural frame. It is the minimum job requirement, although clever program directors make the best of it, learn the rules and use the system in a way beneficial for everyone. However, as the structural frame indicates, in a well-defined chain of command, it is the job description and the division of the tasks which is important, not a particular person holding this job. Thus it could be argued that the structural frame is very suitable in an organization which wants to recruit their program directors for temporary positions. It is not so much important who takes care of the tasks, as long as they are taken care of. This, of course, as such is something that might either help or hinder the recruitment of people to these temporary positions. The job of a program director, in an organization which favors temporary leadership appointments is an inevitable obligation which needs to be taken on by someone. As the interviews indicated, the lecturers' or principal lecturers' positions might seem much more lucrative than program directors' positions.

Planning is the central working tool provided by the structural frame for a program director. Good planning is needed for everyday operations and it can also be seen as a tool for influencing the organization and promoting change. Planning the basic operational year for the degree program is a good start. In addition, UASs offer opportunities for larger and more complex analysis and planning tasks for interested and qualified program directors.

The following description of Petra in Chapter 6.1.3 illustrates structural frame use in a program director's work. It has been written as a composite example of the coded interview responses under the themes of structural frame related thinking and structural frame-related actions. Petra's quotes refer to interview material, but have been taken from multiple interviews exemplifying the major themes found in the material.

6.1.3 Smart people in a smoothly running system – Petra, Purita University of Applied Sciences

Petra, a program manager, works for Purita University of Applied Sciences. Petra likes her work because she can be involved in a variety of different tasks. She appreciates that in her position she has a chance to receive the information to understand Purita as a whole. However, as Petra comments, a program manager's everyday tasks do not glorify a manager's position in any way. Sometimes Petra thinks that she is "an errand girl" of Purita's top management or "the only clerical worker in the degree program" taking care of various little things for the benefit of the degree program's faculty. It is Petra's general opinion that a UAS program manager should not take oneself too seriously.

Moreover, according to Petra, Purita's lecturers are professionals and therefore do not need a "strong" leader.

In Petra's opinion, there is not much difference between her job as a program manager and her previous job as a team leader of professionals in a private company. "There were smart people there and there are smart people here. Easy to lead. It is actually easier here. In the company I was also responsible for generating the money." Petra points out, "If the people you recruit are smarter than yourself, you seldom get disappointed." The leadership years and her personal experience have taught Petra to think that resistance to change is actually a rational reaction.

In her previous job Petra found how clear goals direct people. For that reason, she would like to have even more specific goals at each level. She believes that a goal-driven system would help the faculty to work better. Goals would be important, too, because according to Petra, strict order giving would be the worst mistake she could make. It would "poison" the working atmosphere and turn the lecturers against her. Goals would naturally drive lecturers towards organizational expectations. In addition to clear goals, Petra appreciates clear job descriptions and using the predetermined chains of command in the organization. "If my subordinate turned to my boss, luckily the boss would not deal with the issue but would direct the lecturer to back to me. My work would be impossible if this were not the case." Petra describes Purita's upper management as being smart and credits them with having created good management systems. For this reason, Petra's advice to a recently appointed program manager at Purita would be, "Just follow the system, it is all there. If you do what the system tells you, it will work."

The program manager's position at Purita, however, is not a permanent one. Petra believes that it is only natural that Purita changes its internal organization to better reflect the demands of the environment. Petra admits that the temporary position takes the edge of her leadership behavior. She knows that it is by no means certain that there will be program manager's positions at Purita next year. And even if that were the case, it might actually be one of her present subordinates who could fill that position. For that reason, Petra knows that there is a chance, "if you bully now, you will get bullied later." Therefore Petra is not willing to make any drastic leadership moves in her program.

Petra knows that Purita works properly only if program managers do their jobs properly. The basic tool is the annual teaching plan. Although revised many times a year, it is a basic "iron structure" holding students and lecturers' work plans together. However, in Petra's opinion, the workload allocation system for faculty work is not working in an optimal way, "Planning expert-level work in a very detailed way, by the hour, and one year in advance, is not a solution for today".

Petra likes planning and estimates that she spends half of her working time in different kinds of planning activities. She also thinks that she is very prudent with money and believes that this is also appreciated by Purita's top management. According to Petra, in the future it would be beneficial for Purita to develop even more sophisticated analysis methods in order to identify the required future competences and link them with Purita's human resource and curriculum development systems. Petra is also willing to develop

her own skills related to this kind of analysis. Petra considers that change is possible at each level of Purita, if only carefully planned and adequately resourced.

6.1.4 Discussion: Petra as an efficient part of the system

The driving forces of Purita are rationality, competence and efficiency. Petra is respected in her position, because she has proved her competence in rational planning demonstrating efficient behavior, “those who are the most rational get promoted” (Birnbaum, 1988, pp. 123). She likes her work, because it includes so much planning. By making good plans, based on detailed analysis, she can exert influence in a way that is also accepted by her superiors.

Petra, however, hesitates to give orders and not at all willing to take a heroic role. Her role in the chain of command is seeing that the organizational procedures are followed and the orders of top management are obeyed. However, Purita’s system has been balanced so that it does not fundamentally destroy faculty autonomy.

For Petra, the basic assumptions of Purita are nothing new. She used to work in a company operating under much the same assumptions. These assumptions are that performance is better if it is a) goal-oriented, b) specialized, c) coordinated, d) rational, and that e) organizational structures should fit changing environments, and that f) problems and solutions can be found in structural terms. (Bolman & Deal, 2008, p. 47).

Petra knows that her position is temporary, and that she could quite easily be replaced (Birnbaum, 1988, p. 111). “The goal of leadership is attained when a competent person fills a specified role.” (Bergquist and Pawlak, 2008, p. 70). Although letting her understand that her efficient work is valued, Purita’s top management does not want to make the position a permanent one. In a structural frame there is a tendency to see both organizational problems and their solutions in structural terms (Birnbaum, 1988, p. 121.)

Petra’s comment on the time allocation system for faculty work reflects both Petra’s and Purita’s underlying rational ethos emphasizing structural frame-related thinking. Developing a tight and fair system for such a complex issue as lecturers’ work time compensation is a structural frame-related dream created in order to combat the looseness and irrationality of every day work at Purita. Despite the great achievements of Purita’s top management, the faculty’s actual work time seems to be an area which continues to be difficult to manage. Work allocation rules specify e.g. how many hours each lecturer will be compensated for teaching a course, supervising a bachelor’s thesis or coordinating a placement. These rules are different at each UAS. The number of total hours in a full-time lecturer’s annual plan should be 1,600. The rules can be seen as an important management tool to steer the performance towards the expected outcomes.

6.2 Human resource frame

6.2.1 Utilization of the human resource frame

All interviewees described human resource frame-related actions and discussed issues relating to the use of human resource frame. This would indicate that the human resource frame is needed and used in UAS program leadership. The coding themes and number of references are reported in Appendix 2. The coding groups under the human resource frame related issues were 1) discussions of individuals' feelings, needs, preferences, or abilities, 2) references to the importance of participation, listening, open communication, involvement in decision-making and morale, 3) discussion on interpersonal relationships, and 4) emphasis on collaboration, win-win, and a sense of family or community.

The themes for human resource frame related actions were 1) processes of participation and involvement, 2) training, 3) empowerment, organizations, development, and quality-of-work-life programs. Several sub-codes were used to classify the multiple forms human resource frame seen in program directors' work (Appendix 2).

The answer to the research question: how do program directors use also human resource frame could be answered by describing UAS program directors' work as a consistent *effort to give individualized support to each member of the faculty* and to *promote co-operation as a working method*. This may be interpreted as a program director's on tightening the loose couplings both between her/himself and the lecturers and between the lecturers in her/his team. The difficulty of these endeavors was evident in the interviews and if contemplated from the micro-political perspective (Savonmäki, 2005; 2007; Salo, 2002) this would indicate that a program leader would be willing to integrate the administrative, interactive and teaching areas of teachers' work (Figure 5).

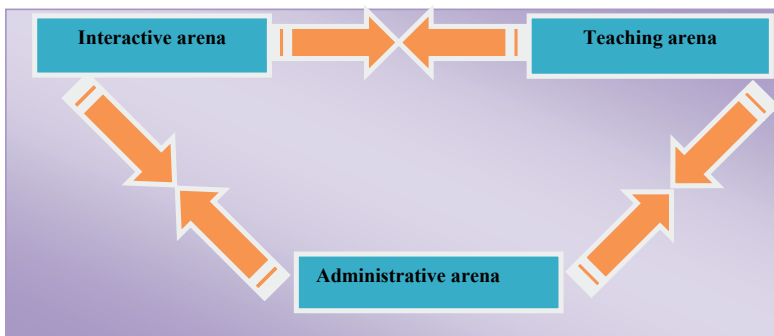


Figure 5. Program director's attempt to tighten couplings between arenas

Nevertheless, this effort to tighten the couplings between the three arenas of lecturers' work, as pointless as it might be from the micro-political perspective, seems to contribute positively to program directors' own sensemaking of their leadership role. The program directors are in a position to perceive, that the UAS strategy cannot be implemented

without someone having the time, talent and willingness to engage in dialogue with faculty.

The program directors are also acutely aware that the challenges of the UASs cannot be met if the traditional individual way of working is not replaced by more collaborative working methods. The program directors acknowledge that their middle management role is particularly suitable for promoting these ideas. This also contributes to a positive middle management leadership identity. In other words, this might be interpreted to mean that the human resource frame in program directors' work contributes to a growing sense of purpose and identity in program directors' own work as lecturers' leaders. As one of the directors interviewed in the field of business education remarked, such a role was not greatly needed in the former commercial colleges, because the teacher's main task then was to teach the classes in a very autonomous way. According to the interviewee, the role of the commercial college principal was much more administrative than the leadership role of today's UAS program directors as the line managers of the UAS lecturers. Autonomous teachers needed administration, collaborative UAS lecturers need leadership.

The following chapters will present the interview data. In Chapter 6.2.2 the themes will be discussed in order to offer the reader a rich description of the coded interview material, and in Chapter 6.2.3. a composite example of the use of human resource frame is given by presenting Tina, the program head, working for the Talentia University of Applied Sciences.

6.2.2 Dialogue and collaboration

In the interviews, the program directors emphasized the need to treat each faculty member individually. The need for individualized attention also creates pressures for the program directors to tailor their own behavior to suit individual communication styles. The program directors interviewed reported how they tried to learn how to give feedback and evaluation in a way that would suit each faculty member individually and how, for example, to communicate at a pace which would be suitable for each. It takes time and effort to learn different ways of communicating, but according to program directors, this is necessary, if trying to align faculty's individual aspirations with the organizational needs. Being willing to talk and giving individualized attention is seen as a prerequisite for this.

Each faculty member – if only s/he wishes – must be able to think that I am a leader whose door is open and that I care for everyone. *D13*

One of the tricks of the program director's trade is to find the fine line, when to wait for the faculty member to ask for the help and when the initiative for a discussion should be taken by the program director.

But, with the faculty and experts the guidance and information sharing and the extent to which a superior interferes is really a line drawn in water. To what extent you are present and supporting without interfering with the work of that person and to what extent you give enough information without looking down on him/her; an adult person is capable of seeking some information. It is so challenging how to find the line with everyone and know when s/he will start to feel that too much interference is taking place. And how much should one inform on different issues, when someone thinks that I have already understood this issue and another person has not yet realized, yes, ok, like this. *D2*

There is also a fine line between caring enough and caring too much. The interviews indicate that this is a theme which is closely connected to leadership experience, but manifests itself in slightly different ways.

When you are more confident in your leadership, you can also act in a more human way. *D10*

The experience has somehow led me to think that whatever people do or do not do will not surprise me anymore. On the other hand, this is maybe also frightening, or not frightening, but it is now the case that leadership is more and more just work for me. *D4*

...if I have changed as a leader? Well, at that time there was kind of timidity related to self-confidence. Now, for example, if there are difficult situations with students or with faculty or something like that, it is now work. And I decided that I will not take offense about work-related matters. *D9*

Program directors prefer dialogic forms of communication to giving orders. Order giving is avoided because it is not believed to work with faculty. Dialogue can lead to changing behavior, at least occasionally. The interviews indicate that dialogue can contribute to transformative learning and change if it leads to critical reflection of lecturers' assumptions and refining the meaning perspectives (Mezirow, 1999). In addition, program directors consider that constant dialogue is needed for the examination of lecturers' wellbeing and early detection of faculty burn-out symptoms.

Dialogue requires not only talent and willingness but also conditions that foster it. The group sizes of some of the program directors interviewed were so large, that it took several weeks in the year just to carry out the development discussions¹. In addition to group size, different locations create obstacles to continuous dialogue.

If there is only one me and there are 20 people, it would mean that I had to write on a piece of paper when I spoke with that person the last time. If I thought that for many weeks I have not seen a particular person, I would make a conscious effort to

1. The Anglo American literature prefers the term employee/performance appraisal. The Finnish tradition puts emphasis on the dialogue between the leader and the follower with the term "kehityskeskustelu" (development discussion). See Wink (2007, pp. 5–55) for discussion of the concept.

see her/him. I would then need paper and pencil in order to notice everyone and share time with everybody. Otherwise it could be that I did not see a person, for example, for one month. And how could I be a leader if I did not see a person for a month? What would I have to give, nothing! It would be no kind of leadership if you did not meet for a month. *D2*

The interviews also indicated that in many UASs the program directors are involved with so many UAS-level task groups that allocating time for allocation dialogue with individual faculty members seems difficult, if not impossible.

Program directors promote co-operation both as a mode of thinking and as a mode of working. The program directors with a strong human resource frame orientation consider that the tasks of a UAS, even at degree program level, are so complicated that it is impossible for anyone to survive alone. It might be interpreted that the promotion of co-operation contributes positively to program director's leadership identity. The many obstacles and challenges in promoting collaboration within the UAS may even strengthen their identity and provide a sense of purpose for their own work. Moreover, program directors seem to derive personal enjoyment from group work.

Well, a superior is needed, well a kind of a team leader is needed, because it is not only teaching that the job entails. First of all, at the moment, we have a situation, that in our new curriculum, we integrate all courses together. We have a module-based curriculum, in which all the courses will be integrated through shared assignments and so forth. Little by little, we try to break the old way of working. In my degree program, we can do it, because the guys are committed, but elsewhere, not necessarily. Some won't bend to it. They believe that it used to be ok before and now we continue as before and so forth. *DI4*

The following portrait of Tina, the degree program director, illustrates a program director's use of the human resource frame in her work.

6.2.3 Excellent people working together – Tina, Talentia University of Applied Sciences

Tina, who works as a degree program director at Talentia University of Applied Sciences, would like to keep her doors open as often as possible in order to be available to the faculty in her degree program. "I know that a small issue might be a big thing for a lecturer." Tina is also active in "surfing" around lecturers' offices asking and answering numerous questions. She tries to have lunch with her program's lecturers as often as possible, and believes that this kind of informal communication is needed in addition to regular group meetings. Tina knows that there are so many things going on at Tal-

entia that a piece of information on the intranet might easily go unnoticed by faculty. Informal discussion can clarify what is going on at Talentia.

Tina believes that her ability to carry out discussion is characteristic of her leadership, "I discuss a lot, both formally and informally. I'm not distant; it is easy for faculty to approach me." For Tina, there is no question about faculty needing someone who is willing to support them. "Leaders are there to help faculty to feel safe". The trusting relationship is also required because faculty well-being is so important. "The quality of our program is, after all, directly influenced by the well-being of our lecturers." "In addition", says Tina; "if the faculty does not feel safe and secure, it will not try anything new."

In order to succeed in this kind of role, Tina is trying to develop her own interaction skills. Tina knows that each lecturer needs to be treated individually. Tina challenges herself to learn how to communicate with each of them. "If you know faculty well, as I do, you know how they will react to things." Tina has learnt that different faculty members need different kind of encouragement, feedback and rewards. Even the pace of talk needs to be tailored according to a lecturer's individual communication style, "I consciously try to slow down my own way of talking."

The faculty at Talentia are given a chance to have a development discussion each year with their line manager. Because of a large number of lecturers in Tina's degree program, this takes quite a lot of her time during that particular time of the year. In Tina's opinion, it is much more beneficial to try to make the faculty to understand that something must change than to say that changes need to be made. "I have learnt to lead the discussion so that lecturers come up with the developmental suggestions of their own. One only needs to have the willingness and time to listen." For Tina, thanking faculty for the work that has been accomplished is not very difficult. However, giving feedback on poor performance is much more challenging. She believes that in most cases lecturers already know if something has gone wrong. "It is not always wise to start pinpointing what went wrong. Most of the time lecturers know it very well themselves, and come up with remedies on their own", says Tina.

One of the themes to be discussed in development discussions is the lecturers' developmental needs and plans. Tina sees her role as a promoting the "seeds" of development, trying to help the implementation of faculty members' new ideas possible by finding resources and trying to group lecturers with similar interests. "I try to find the strengths in each faculty member and build upon them to find a suitable competence area at Talentia. Everyone needs an area in which s/he can excel" she tells.

Another important area of discussion in development discussions is faculty willingness to participate in R&D projects and pedagogical experiments. Tina believes that participation should be based on the lecturers' own wishes. "Forcing leads nowhere. I have tried it. It might have looked good on paper, but in practise it did not work".

Tina says that the years she has worked as a lecturers' superior have taught her a more "professional" leadership orientation. By this term she refers to the past when she was thinking about faculty problems in her own free time. "Now I know that, in whatever silly manner my program's lecturers behave, it is not necessarily my fault". Tina gives

a piece of advice to her colleagues in similar positions and says, “One cannot be too sensitive, otherwise one won’t survive as a degree program director.”

Tina believes firmly in co-operation, “A single person cannot accomplish anything alone.” For this reason Tina wants to promote collaborative working methods in all possible ways and encourages group planning, joint teaching as well as integration of different subject areas in the curriculum. In addition, Tina makes a consistent effort to build a degree program team. According to Tina, this is one of the most challenging aspects of her job, “Damn, how difficult it is to get faculty to work together in order to reach the shared goals.” However, Tina is confident that her own actions can contribute to the general atmosphere conducive to co-operation.

6.2.4 Discussion: Is Tina searching for shared leadership?

Looking at the description of Tina’s leadership behavior in the light of the higher education literature could provoke the question whether Tina’s idea of co-operation in all possible forms resembled the characterisations of collegial higher education organization as described in the work of Birnbaum (1988, pp. 85–104) or Bergquist and Pawlak (2008, pp. 15–42)? In multiple ways, this is not the case. Tina’s behavior might be interpreted as a consistent search for tight couplings that are not to be found in the above mentioned literature. Tina is looking for tighter couplings 1) between the lecturers and herself, 2) between individual lecturers, 3) between the program and the UAS, and 4) between results and their assessment in a fashion which hardly resembles Birnbaum’s (1988, pp. 35–41) description of an academic organization. It might also be argued that the affinities to Bergquist and Pawlak’s characterisations of collegial self-governing cultures are only superficial. For example, Tina does not in any way indicate a wish for her program to be a self-governing unity within the UAS, although the role of program leader given in the description is very close to the “*primus inter pares*”-type of a servant-master, whose influence is created by spending time with faculty and abstaining from giving orders. (Cf. Birnbaum, 1988, p. 89; pp. 101–102).

It could be argued instead that Tina’s description of collaboration within her own program is much closer to the ideas of presented in the leadership literature discussing shared or distributed leadership. According to Ropo et al. (2005, pp. 14–15; p. 20) the concept of shared leadership accentuates that leadership is a multidimensional phenomenon entailing individuals and groups. Shared leadership takes place in interactive leadership situations, in which the leader’s role is to help, not to disturb. The essential thing in shared leadership is the leader’s willingness to negotiate, let go with the process and put one’s own personality at stake. Ropo et al. want to underline the difference between the concept of shared leadership and the charismatic leader model in the theory of transformative leadership. Moreover, in discussing shared leadership Ropo and Parviainen (2001) direct attention to the importance of the physical presence of a leader in a very similar manner to Tina when she explains how important it is for her to

be available to faculty. Fletcher and Käufer (2003) argue that shared leadership models emphasize the leader's ability to foster collective learning in the organization. Bolden et al. (2008) suggest that distributive leadership aims at tightening the couplings between higher education leaders and their followers.

Pearce (2004) proposes that shared leadership is suitable in knowledge work when 1) there is a high interdependency of the tasks, 2) plenty of creativity is needed to accomplish the task, and 3) when tasks are complicated. All these conditions can be seen to exist at the UAS program level. The interpretation of this study is thus that the human resource frame in a program director's leadership orientation emphasizes the post-transformative leadership model of shared leadership. Tina wants to be perceived as one of "them" and wishes to promote shared leadership as a change making tool within the organization, while at the same time very being acutely aware of the problems attached to the traditionally autonomous role of a lecturer in higher education.

6.3 Political frame

6.3.1 Utilization of the political frame

The interviews indicated that the majority of program directors interviewed used political-frame thinking to perceive their UAS organizations. At least two comments indicating political frame-related thinking were found in the analysis of 13 program directors' interview talk. In addition, at least two comments indicating political frame-related actions were found in nine program directors' interviews. This would indicate that even though the program directors might have political-frame related thoughts, these do not always lead to political frame-related actions. As listed in Appendix 2, the political frame-related actions were coded under the groups of 1) bargaining and negotiation, 2) advocacy, and 3) building alliances and networking with other key players. Political frame-related issues were coded under the groups of 1) focus on conflict or tension among different constituencies, interest groups, or organizations, 2) competing interests and agendas, and 3) disputes over allocation of scarce resources.

As the reframing theory postulates, the coded interview comments under the political frame portray the work of a program director in a completely different light than the coding that took place under the theme of the structural frame. Seen through these political frame-related comments, UAS as an organization is not emerging as a chain of rational command but as an arena of various stakeholders and their often conflicting interests. The program director works balancing these interests and tries to solve many of these conflicts. Nevertheless, mainly because of her/his middle management position, the program director is bound merely to observe some organizational affairs taking place without having an opportunity to influence what is happening. Such behavior can also be interpreted as the use of the political frame; because for a program director it would

not be wise “to bang one’s head against the wall” (D1) if the power to intervene was nonexistent. The interviews also indicate that the program directors evaluate their own positional power and weigh it against the expectations and occasionally dare to rebel against what in their eyes looks like unreasonable timetables, excessive detail in reporting or unjust or impractical demands.

Thus the answer to the research question: how do the program directors use the political frame, might be that a program director *works at the hub of many practical everyday conflicts choosing which ones to act upon*. The decision either to intervene in a particular situation or to withdraw from it reflects political frame-related thinking based on evaluating the power bases and the likelihood of succeeding. The political frame affects program directors’ attitudes to organizational change so that they are aware that despite the best of intentions, only some of the intended change efforts will succeed. In other words, the political frame affects their organizational thinking by making them tolerant towards failed attempts and providing them with *patience to wait for change*.

The need to use for the political frame is to be found in the loosely coupled nature of the organization which affects program director’s work in multiple ways. The loose couplings between the interest groups of the UAS cause constant tension in a system that is presumed to work in a well planned and systematic way. In the following chapters the political frame in UAS program directors’ work is discussed firstly by describing the frame use based on the coded interview responses in Chapter 6.3.2 and secondly by introducing Daniel, a program manager working for Diversia University of Applied Sciences and espousing much of the political-frame related thinking described in Chapter 6.3.3.

6.3.2 Mixed motives and shifting grounds

The political frame in a program director’s work emerges when the UAS is not seen to function according to the presuppositions presented in the structural frame, in other words the expectations for the UAS to work in a rational and predictable way and the fair treatment of organizational members are not met. The interview data indicates that rationality and fairness as the undeniable values of higher education and driving forces of UAS organizations may in fact result in actions that ultimately cause irrationality and unfairness in the organization. This can be clearly seen by looking at the interview comments regarding the work allocation rules for faculty. These rules and their application present one of the major reasons for bargaining between program directors and faculty. From the program director’s point of view, the situation is far from easy.

We have a piece of paper here: faculty work time plan, which is hated. It is everywhere. It is a wretched piece of paper, the only thing that a lecturer is interested in is how many hours s/he will get for each task. When the annual working time for a lecturer is 1,600 hours, we start to negotiate. Ok, if I had parallel teaching groups, would I be allowed multiple the hours by 1.2 or by 1.5.? This will be discussed. When it is said that these

and these things must be accomplished in the degree program, the question is how many hours I shall get for it. And you should act as a leader here! *D14*

The political frame suggests that it is no surprise that lecturers try to use the existing work allocation rules to maximize their own gain. In fact, this is exactly the kind of behavior which is supported by an organization professing the rational ethos. A faculty member who would use rationality to play the game of optimizing the salary and minimizing the effort could actually be seen to act in a manner supported by the basic values of an organization manifesting rationality.

Program directors, although their work is directly influenced by these work allocation rules, are most often in positions in which they cannot influence the making of these rules. The work allocation rules together with the consistently changing demands for lecturers' jobs may result in a situation which is deemed unfair by the program directors, too.

In a certain way, one of the unpleasant features in this job, that one sees this situation so well. Not everyone is involved with the equal inputs, although the work plan would indicate the same number of hours. *D12*

The pursuit of fairness is considered to be very important in a program director's work. It can be seen to determine the position of a program director in a bargaining situation.

D3: In general, fairness is among the most expected qualities wished for from a leader. Surely the thinking of how to be fair to everyone is one of the most difficult tasks. Or, on the other hand, should one be so fair for everyone? Somewhat philosophical...

Interviewer: Should one be?

D3: Yes, in my opinion, yes, one needs to be fair.

The program director is acutely aware of the possible conflict of interests between UAS top management and faculty. Too rapid expectations of change, controversial strategy changes, overload of conflicting information, or just the strange language of top management may cause interpretation challenges between top management and faculty. The program director is forced to act and somehow make the intentions of one party clear to the other, either expressing the views of faculty to top management, or vice versa.

In my opinion, we should not directly adopt the business management model, because the expertise there (in the degree program) is very strong and it needs to be listened to and appreciated. And clearly there are some clear exaggerations, and even some of the members of our top management are so zealously advocating the management style of the private sector. At least in our field, where the lecturers do not come from the business

sector, there are some exaggerations, for which one needs to do repair work in order to get faculty to understand why someone in top management thinks this way. *D10*

Program directors do not necessarily see the sense of all top management behavior, but still need to maneuver artfully in order to achieve a satisfactory balance.

One needs to be like a shuttle or a government adviser², a person who is balancing the different points of view. *D5*

The interview material also provided examples of critical struggles for survival between the UAS top management and the degree program. Although understood that the pressures partly derive from the Ministry of Education and not UAS top management, the rules for degree program survival were not always clear:

For faculty, this has been something one gets tired of. Even though one tried to do one's best, and in our opinion the results have been of quite good quality, it will be not enough. One will not get positive feedback from the management, or from top management, instead the threat of closing is constantly there. If you run 100 meters in 11 seconds, in fact you should have made it in 10 seconds, or you should have run 120 meters. *D9*

The interview data also indicated that the target negotiations between UAS top management and the program director might result in bargaining situations, for example concerning the annual graduation rates. From the program directors' point of view the targets might look unrealistic and they might worry about the future consequences of the quality image of the program starting to "stamp graduates through" (D12) the system.

The interviews yielded interesting leads to examining whether a program director is able to resist or bend the orders received from either top management or another UAS administrative body. This kind of behavior was described as "slightly rebellious" (D3). Comparing the order given with the program director's other priorities and deadlines, a program director seems to be able to use her/his own judgment and make a compromise decision on own her/his own actions.

Well, I would say that I use a kind of civil courage quite a lot, I am not very pedantic and conscientious if a request came, an order came, that by that date should something be accomplished. I usually then deal with it in my brain, who is asking and what is the schedule and in a way of using kind of common sense, will not reply to all requests, and will not answer them when they are asked. And I think that this is a very important thing. Although every once in a while I feel rebellious, but I believe that I wouldn't survive if I didn't try to and put forward my suggestion. OK, we have this policy, but we could implement it in this way, not completely according to the instructions given. *D6*

2. The Finnish term "neuvotteleva virkamies" loses some meaning when translated into English

Program directors are also involved in many negotiations with students and about students. The interviews indicated quite a variety of program directors' response mechanisms to student concerns about teaching quality. Among the most challenging situations were examples of students requesting more contact teaching in an environment of the top management promoting a teaching strategy increasing more work life based project work and students raising criticism about a faculty member, whose early signs of burn-out had already been detected by the program director. The interview material indicated that the decision when to intervene and when to have the patience to wait is a political-frame related situation requiring consideration of how to reach the situation specific balance of the interests of stakeholders.

In addition to negotiating with UAS's internal interest groups as explained above, the program directors described negotiations and alliance building with interest groups in the external UAS environment, for example the representatives of working life, health care professionals concerning either student or faculty members' health problems, representatives of other UASs or other educational institutions in the area. The coded interview comments on the negotiations with working life are good examples of situations in which a program leader needs to quickly balance the interests of multiple groups in order to proceed. A strategically important partner company could, for example, request for a project to be delivered within a few weeks demanding the skills of a particular lecturer. In this situation, the program director needs to consider whether to say yes to the company and try to find a substitute teacher for the courses or whether to say no to the company and thus guarantee the teaching quality of the students.

In the light of the interviews conducted, most of the program directors' negotiations and bargains concerning the allocation of scarce resources are involved with the issues of faculty work time allocation and its compensation. These challenges are seen to derive from UAS or even ministerial level requirements to accomplish new tasks on the same or less monetary resources than before. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, program directors do not always find that the work allocation rules correspond to the changing type of work of a UAS lecturer because new pedagogical methods require more time spent by faculty in the field and also give individual consultation to students. Companies or other important working life contacts in the area are not necessarily interested in paying for the projects, although they welcome the opportunity for co-operation with the students and UAS faculty.

The interview data yielded some indication of the issues of alliance building and advocacy, although a further investigation into these questions might be required. As explained above, the program manager needs to act both as an advocate of the degree program's educational field and lecturers to top management, and as the advocate of top management to lecturers. In the negotiations between students and faculty, the line is much more difficult to draw, as discussed above in connection with students' criticisms of teaching quality. The parallel advocacy of the UAS as well as the degree program is usually possible in the program director's relationships with working life. However, the material also included an example of alliance building between a degree program and local employers. The degree program and the employers joined forces against UAS top

management plans to close down operations in that educational field. Despite the overwhelming theme of competition with other UASs, the program directors interviewed gave several examples of successful alliance building with similar programs at other UASs or other educational institutes in the same area.

As a composite example of the data indicating the use of the political frame in a program director's work, the following chapter presents a profile of Daniel, who looks at his organization, Diversia University of Applied Sciences, through a political frame, emphasizing the ongoing negotiations about rules and scarce resources, mapping the political terrain and networking.

6.3.3 Mapping the expectations is only a start – Daniel, Diversia University of Applied Sciences

Daniel works as a degree program manager for Diversia University of Applied Sciences. He sees himself as an advocate of his degree program's educational field at Diversia and in its external environment. He believes that he has to be very alert in grasping the opportunities in the environment which would help his degree program to secure its future. "On the other hand, I have to be realistic and understand that I cannot fulfill all the expectations of me. I have to consider the demands of top management, administration, faculty, students and the local employers and somehow try to balance between them."

Daniel takes student requests very seriously. "Our program needs to run smoothly and students must think that the course content is up-to-date. That is the basis for everything." However, in Daniel's opinion, the students are requesting individual flexibility and opportunities tailor-made for them. Some of the demands are in Daniel's opinion quite unrealistic due to the limitations the present financial constraints. Daniel says that, "I often reply that your meal ticket entitles you to a smorgasbord and it has been served. Take what you want, but you cannot get an *a la carte* meal with the price of a *smorgasbord* ticket."

For Daniel, it is not an easy matter to deal with students' complaints about teaching quality. In Daniel's opinion, "Some, not the majority, but some lecturers try to get the maximum salary with the minimum effort. They use very old course material year after year. I find it frustrating that in the annual development discussions they promise to attend further training, but nothing happens." Daniel admits that occasionally he feels quite powerless with this. Although he consults his own superior, the unit director, on the matter, the fact remains that the employment security of the faculty is very strong. "If a lecturer chooses to be lazy, quite lazy s/he can remain", concludes Daniel. Daniel explains, that "some, not all, but some, maybe ten percent of the lecturers" still see their work as giving lectures. Persuading these lecturers to participate, for example, in team meetings during the weeks the classes are not held takes a lot of effort from Daniel.

Daniel is convinced that in order to provide quality teaching the faculty must be in good mental health. "There have been so many changes in Diversia and the survival

of our degree program has been at stake for such a long time that I can see that some of our faculty are too tired. Although we have tried our best, nothing seems to suffice. We just cannot produce better quality with even more sophisticated teaching methods if the resources are diminishing all the time.” This, according to Daniel, is something that Diversia’s top management often fails to see.

Recently Daniel has noticed with pleasure, that the long-term efforts to build a network with the employers in the local environment bore fruit: when the existence of the degree program was at stake at Diversia, the program received very strong support from local employers.

In Daniel’s opinion, students’ problems are increasing all the time. According to Diversia’s public health nurse, some of the degree program’s students would need immediate psychiatric help. In addition, as Daniel remarks, students’ financial problems are increasing and students are dropping out from the studies and transferring to other UASs. Once again, Daniel feels quite powerless. “No matter what I do, they will leave if they decide to. Even if I stand on my head, I cannot change it.”

Daniel understands that the target graduation rates are agreed upon between Diversia’s top management and the Ministry and it is inevitable that the target is then shifted down to the program level. However, as a program manager Daniel thinks that he is responsible for ensuring that the student reaches a certain competence before s/he can graduate and would not like to increase the quantity of graduates by risking the quality of education. One of the solutions is to try to get better applicants. In order to attract more applicants to his degree program, Daniel networks with the secondary schools in the area.

Daniel thinks that sometimes the students join forces with the employers requesting traditional teaching methods. However, this conflicts with the pedagogical strategy of Diversia and the expectations of Diversia’s top management. “I too, believe that these changes are necessary, but the changes take time, we are not able to do it as quickly as top management wish. The focus tends to change very easily, too, one year the big theme was internationalization and the following year it was something else.” Daniel comments and continues, “We cannot change the course of this ship so quickly and as often as is required.” Daniel admits also that, “Some orders from the management and administration, for example requests for statistics are tasks, which, of course, I do, but not necessarily within the schedule given or with a hundred percent effort.”

In Daniel’s opinion, the collective agreements and faculty resource allocation systems do not very much support the new role of lecturer. According to Daniel, they reflect the old college days, when teaching inside classrooms was what was expected of teachers. Daniel thinks that the work of UAS lecturers is much more varied these days. Calculating work by the hour does not support lecturers’ new tasks of networking with the environment or doing applied research. However, there is not much Daniel can do but to apply these rules when preparing faculty annual plans.

6.3.4 Discussion: Daniel's negotiated power

Daniel believes that Diversia is functioning not only as a management-driven hierarchy through rules and norms but also as a political organization with shifting power bases. Power within Diversia is very much negotiated and the rules, although important and much discussed, still leave much room for interpretation. What is at stake in these negotiations is not the difference between good and bad, but the attempt to choose alternative routes leading in the desired direction or the question of how to allocate the resources between competing targets. For Daniel, power is diffused at Diversia, because different people have power in different situations. The same applies to Daniel himself, depending on the situations and people, his own power seems to vary. Some of the lecturers, for example, seem to act as a group with whom he repeatedly needs to negotiate his authority. In other words, when seen through a political lens, Diversia exemplifies many characteristics in Birnbaum's description of a higher education institution as a political system (Birnbaum, 1988, pp. 128–150) and Bolman and Deal's list of political assumptions on organizations (Bolman & Deal, 2008, pp. 194–195). The description of an advocacy culture by Bergquist & Pawlak is also accurate to describe Daniel's position, not only because the strong driving force of egalitarianism at Diversia but also because, as Bergquist and Pawlak (2008, p. 117) argue in an advocacy culture mid-level academic leaders might feel quite powerless.

Daniel is well aware of the ever-widening gap between Diversia's top management and faculty. However, to his mind, this loose coupling between these interest groups offers many prospects for Daniel himself. Depending on the issue, he can join the top management camp or side with faculty. No one at Diversia seems to question this middle management possibility to take sides when needed. Occasionally, the most rewarding position for Daniel is an alliance with networks outside Diversia. Furthermore, Daniel represents both faculty and students on the program. In the conflicts between these two interest groups, Daniel cannot be seen to advance the causes of only one side, but needs to balance the interests of both sides in order to mediate peace and honor the value of fairness (cf. Bolman & Deal 2008, p. 405).

The constant negotiations and conflict solving situations affect Daniel's work so that it can be seen to be more operational than strategic in nature. Stanley and Algert (2007) studied the conflict management styles of department heads. They found that department heads use collaborating, compromising, accommodating, competing or avoiding conflict management styles. The researchers argue that the choice of the conflict management style often derives from childhood experiences and its use is not conscious action. Stanley and Algert suggest that department heads unconsciously use their mental model in conflict management situations trying to manipulate other people to what in their opinion would be the appropriate resolution to a conflict scenario. Being conscious of the mental model directing his conflict management style might also be beneficial for Daniel. Just as only one adopted organizational frame would freeze a leader's actions (Bolman & Deal, 2008, p. 13), an unconsciously adapted mental model of managing conflicts might restrict Daniel's mode of operation.

The political frame in Daniel's work is better manifested in his view of the organization than in his political frame related actions. If one would answer the research question how a program director uses the political frame when trying to implement change, Daniel's answer might lie in the statement that *all change efforts must be accompanied with patience*. This is to say that the political frame-related thinking inevitably puts organizational thinking into a perspective through which sudden and major change plans are to be regarded with realism and caution. Because of the complicated nature of couplings between the sub-systems of Diversia, planned actions might as well lead to unplanned and undesirable actions (cf. Birnbaum, 1988, pp. 211) as to the desired outcomes. Moreover, in addition to reading the internal political climate of Diversia, Daniel reads the political environment and is aware of that a change might suddenly result from Diversia's external environment.

Daniel's position in the middle management offers excellent views on the political nature of the organization and its loosely coupled subsystems. Although orders have been given in the organization, or matters have been agreed on, the expected behavior does not necessarily follow. Daniel's occasionally "slightly rebellious" behavior, which is seen e.g. in his way of breaking the deadlines of requested administrative procedures, demonstrates that Daniel is fully aware of the relative importance of different orders.

Overall, Daniel might well agree with the following prediction by Cohen and March (1974, p. 196): "The search for a consistent explanation of human social behavior through a model of rational intent and an imputation from action has had some successes. But there is no sign that the university is one of the successes, or very likely to become one."

6.4 Symbolic frame

6.4.1 Utilization of the symbolic frame

The coding chart for the symbolic frame is included in Appendix 2. Seven of the fifteen program directors interviewed gave at least two comments that were coded under the symbolic frame-related issues and six program directors gave indications of at least two symbolic frame-related actions. The codes under the frame-related issues were grouped as 1) discussion of symbolic importance of existing practises, rituals or artefacts, 2) discussion on institutional or program identity, culture and symbols, and 3) emphasis on influencing how different audiences will interpret an action or a decision. For the symbolic frame-related actions the categories were 1) creating or revitalizing ceremonies and rituals, 2) working on influencing organizational cultures, 3) working to develop or restate the institutions/program's vision, and 4) using self as a symbol.

The findings would lead to the interpretation that the symbolic frame in a program director's work is to be interpreted as a consistent effort at shared meaning construction

of the degree program's and UAS's *raison d'être* (reason for being). These meaning construction attempts can be seen to be important in light of the changing role of a UAS lecturer (e.g. Auvinen, 2004; 2008).

Weick's concept of sensemaking is particularly suitable to explain this phenomenon. According to Weick, a sensemaking process starts when the experienced state of affairs is not the expected state of affairs, in other words, when expectations are not met (Weick, 1995, p. 46). Sensemaking starts with a question "Is it still possible to take things for granted?" and is triggered by a failure to confirm one's self (Weick 1995, p. 14; p. 23). Sensemaking "is a micro-mechanism that produces macro-change over time" (Weick et al., 2005). The individual-level change has potential to be organizational-level change if people start reporting anomalies which, once shared, should increase the sensibleness of the organization. According to Weick the concept of sensemaking is a key to understand what is happening in organizations. *The use of the symbolic frame in a program director's work could then be interpreted as a continuous pursuit of organizational-level sensemaking.*

The following Chapter 6.4.2 provides a description of the symbolic frame related issues and actions in program director's interviews. As a composite example of the data, Chapter 6.4.3 introduces Frans, who works at Futuria University of Applied Science and uses the symbolic leadership frame in his leadership. However, because the coded contents under the symbolic leadership frame were much smaller in number than for the three other leadership frames and because some of the descriptions of the symbolic frame use were so creative and unique and often attached to program director's own or UASs value systems, the interview quotes and the details in the composite example are more general in nature than in the analysis of the structural, human resource and political frames. This is to ensure that the interviewees or their UASs cannot be identified.

6.4.2 Building significance

The interpretation of the interview findings is that the program directors who espoused the symbolic leadership frame were seen to adopt the task of identity building, or even promotion of identity change at both faculty member and degree program levels. The adopted task, however, is seen to be difficult and even frustrating.

But of course, if we think about the success of the community of lecturers, I believe that in the future it will be much more dependent on that the community in its entirety being more responsible for it. What I am getting at - what is probably bothering me, is that I might not have been able to convince all members of the teaching community to see the importance of shared success. If we think about the change in a lecturer's role during the last 15 years, in particular. I feel sort of inner pain that I have not been able to detach people from the traditional idea of divided expertise, in which a faculty member is a monarch of all s/he surveys. *D4*

The interviews indicated that the program directors' main tools for identity building are talking and creating a working atmosphere which would support faculty's courage to undertake new trials and joint responsibility. The old ways of working as a teacher ("I enter a classroom, do my act and exit" D14) should be abolished in order to build a program where faculty can jointly work towards the goals set by the UAS legislation and integrate teaching, R & D, and impact on the community on program level.

The program directors' symbolic frame-related comments are evidence of their personal level belief that meaning in UAS is constructed on the individual level and that this should be taken into account when choosing the way and language of discussing organizational matters with different audiences. The vocabularies of the UAS lecturers and the top management are not necessarily the same.

My starting point is that if an objective is the UAS given from the Ministry of Education and so forth, each (organizational) level should always interpret in its own language. We cannot introduce the Ministry's performance indicators as such to faculty; an indicator needs to be transformed along the way to direct lecturer's own work so that the performance is reached in an unforced and natural way, without us watching the value of the indicator. *D13*

... in a certain way it is discussed in a language which has not necessarily been thought of from the faculty point of view. It is quite a mantra already that line management will be strengthened. If you told this to a faculty member, with no leadership training or experience, it would sound bad, wouldn't it? OK, bureaucracy is increasing, and here it comes. The reason why it is strengthened is not openly explained nor it is said what kind of leadership models it will entail, what is wished for, and, for example, how will it affect the job profile of the closest superior i.e. the program manager. *D10*

If such attention is not paid to meaning construction, the organizational issue will remain the "talk of the management" (D10) and as such it will hardly have any effect on the faculty level. The program manager, too, might easily forget what the world looks like from the faculty perspective:

One of the deficiencies that I have encountered is when management gets estranged from doing, when they talk about different things than we as faculty here. I believe that it is very important to take part in the action. It is not worth getting buried in one's own office and telling others what should be done, reading theories and sending letters. I feel that a contact with the action must be maintained. *D15*

Program directors' heterogeneous comments on the symbolic importance of existing practises, rituals or artefacts reveal that the symbolic importance is acknowledged and the knowledge used in practise, but in various ways by different program directors. The examples included descriptions of rewarding the new behavior and attempts as well as burying the old practises in a ceremonial manner. To illustrate the symbolic frame in

program directors' work, in the following, a portrait of Frans, the head of program at Futuria UAS will be given as a composite example of the interview material.

6.4.3 Paving the way for the future – Frans, Futuria University of Applied Sciences

Frans works as a head of program at Futuria University of Applied Sciences. He thinks that the integration of the three core UAS tasks: teaching, R&D and regional development, is of the utmost importance and the prime motive for continuous change. In order to prepare his program to meet this challenge, he conducts continuous discussion with the faculty on his program on the meaning of these three tasks and their integration. The questions Frans raises with the team are: "What does this mean for us? What will it demand from us, if we want to do it? What does it mean in regard to our teaching methods? What does it mean in regard to our networks? What will be our core? What can we do? What will be our focus?"

Frans thinks that it will not be enough if a member of the faculty excels in her/his own course. "It is my dream to see the day when faculty as a whole is responsible for succeeding in all three tasks. We will have accomplished our mission when we have a genuine feeling that the whole faculty is responsible for all three tasks. Excelling in one teaching area, or on a single course, is not sufficient any more, however splendidly a lecturer might perform" says Frans.

"Preaching is not the way of doing this", tells Frans, "but helping faculty to become aware". Frans favors continuous dialogue, and finds that the annual development discussions are the "highlight" of exchanging views on the subject. "Lecturers need to have a direction to strive towards. We need to steer very often, not every day, but each week, each month, and exchange views on what is going on here, how we are going to do this." In addition, as Frans points out, a single piece of information is usually interpreted in multiple ways. "If there are 15 faculty members in my group, there will be 15 different interpretations, it is only through talking that we can find a shared view."

Frans believes that his middle management position allows him to see when the vocabulary of the top management and the lecturers differ so much from each other that no mutual understanding can be reached. According to Frans, UAS strategies should not be "launched" without dialogue by saying, "This is our strategy and now we head towards that goal". Frans believes that if faculty is not given an opportunity to contemplate the strategy, discuss and give feedback, there will be a danger of explicit value conflicts.

In Frans' opinion "loose" talk and empty promises are no way to lead the UAS faculty. Neither top management nor middle management should practise it. Frans claims that the faculty in his program would "smell" it very quickly if he tried to "sell" them something in which he does not believe himself. Similar honesty should be found between the values that are taught to the program students and the way of treating them,

says Frans. "If we want them to respect their future colleagues and customers, we must also respect the students while they are working with us."

According to Frans, it is also important to create a culture where experimenting new things is strongly supported and encouraged. "I shouldn't be the one saying, no, no, we have not done it in this way before, but I should encourage, yes, go ahead and try, think about it. It will not be that terrible if it doesn't work." Personally, Frans enjoys the creative environment of UASs and the freedom to create any programs based on the environmental needs. "It is up to us to make the future".

One of the obstacles to cultural change is what Frans calls "a distorted" picture of the work of a UAS lecturer. Frans describes this kind of faculty thinking, "I do not have to collaborate with anyone. I enter a classroom, I exit a classroom, I prepare my classes, and I run off." Frans tries to "break" this kind of thinking and working culture, and has, in his own opinion, been quite successful in it. Advice to be given to program heads in similar position, is according to Frans, "There are no magic tricks. Just, talk, talk and talk with them!"

6.4.4 Discussion: Frans as a meaning-creator

Gioia and Chittipeddi (1991) criticize Cohen and March's (1974) interpretation of symbolic leadership in higher education organizations as "presidency as an illusion". In Gioia and Chittipeddi's study strategic level change in a higher education organization was seen to occur through sequential sensemaking and sensegiving efforts of the president also involving top management and other organizational constituencies. The concept of sensemaking in Gioia and Chittipeddi's vocabulary refers to organizational understanding processes whereas the concept of sensegiving refers to those processes, which try to influence other parties' ways of making sense. The joint meaning construction in the university which Gioia and Chittipeddi studied was accelerated by many of the university president's symbolic actions, e.g. speeches, memos, appointments and timing but the most symbolic and powerful element in the management of change was a strong vision as a guiding image for change.

The interpretation of symbolic frame use in this study was consistent with this. The vision and meaning-construction seemed to be important both in the symbolic frame-related thoughts and actions of the program heads. However, the codings in these categories did not provide any foundation for arguing for any kind of "illusory" or representative role of a program director. Moreover, the coding did not give any indication that the program directors perceived the organization through the metaphor of "theater" (cf. Bolman & Deal, 2008, p. 18), or their work as a "magician" or "wizard" (cf. Bolman & Deal, 2006).

In the description of Frans above, the program director's role as a meaning co-constructor is not portrayed in transformational heroic role but manifestly as a meaning-co-creator role exemplifying much more the joint sensemaking than any form of

the inspirational guidance and radiation of vision, which would be characteristic of the theory of transformational leadership (cf. Chapter 3.2.1). In other words, Frans is an antithesis of the way Knight and Trowler (2000) characterize transformational leaders “charismatic visionary brimming over with leadership qualities (self-confidence, energy, initiative) and whom others are proud to follow.” Frans does not communicate a vision; he creates it together with the lecturers on his degree program through talking. Such a middle management role of “talking the strategy alive” instead of “pouring” it down or “implementing” it is also consistent with the recent findings of Juholin’s (2008, pp. 113–116) study on the knowledge intensive organizations. Strategies and visions are important for significance building in UASs but the portrait of Frans would give an indication of the interpretation that the *joint sensemaking process is needed to make the change*.

6.5 Conclusion: Multiframing leadership

The research questions that directed the analysis of this study were: do the program directors use the four leadership frames, how do they use them, are they able to reframe and multiframe and how do they use leadership frames for framing change?

The findings of this study would indicate that among UAS program directors the four leadership frames presented by Bolman and Deal (2008) are needed and used in Finnish UASs. All program directors interviewed were interpreted to use the structural and the human resources frames. This result, in Bolman and Deal’s vocabulary, would mean that all of them are efficient managers and the UAS environment fosters both structural and human resource frame-related leadership behavior.

Bolman and Deal argue (1991b) that effective leadership is achieved if a manager is able to multiframe, i.e. to use the political leadership frame and/or the symbolic leadership frame in addition to structural and human resource frames. This study argues that multiframing takes place in UAS program leadership. Of the 15 interviews, nine reported the use of the political leadership frame. In addition, the analysis revealed that six of the program directors interviewed were using the symbolic leadership frame. The potential for multiframing makes reframing possible, too.

To conclude, this study showed that all of the program directors interviewed used at least two leadership frames, nine used a minimum of three leadership frames and four program directors were interpreted to use all four leadership frames. All the educational fields covered in the sample: engineering, business as well as social work and nursing were represented among these four multiframing program directors.

Comparing these figures to the earlier reframing studies is problematic in multiple ways. As explained in Chapter 4.2.4, the overwhelming majority of reframing studies have been carried out by using a quantitative survey instrument and the comparisons of these results with a study based on rich interview material would be a mistake. The

comparisons of the study results with those of earlier qualitative reframing studies pose problems, too. It must be taken into account that although using the same coding chart (with minor adjustments) as Bolman and Deal (1991b) or Heimovics et al. (1993; 1995) their research material was based on written descriptions of leadership incidents, thus providing a different kind of research material than the responsive interview strategy adapted in this study. In addition, Bensimon's (1989) qualitative content analysis of US college presidents was based on only two questions, thus making comparison with this study difficult.

In order to understand the frame use in program directors' work and in their attempts to promote change, a description of the frame usage as well as composite examples of the data were presented in earlier chapters. Table 18 below summarizes the findings of this study.

Table 18. Interpretation of the use of the frames in program directors' work

Frame	Underlying principle	Change-making tool	Key quote/s
Structural	Pursuit of rationality	Planning	"The work is fifty-fifty planning and co-ordination"
Human resource	Effort to give individualized attention and to promote collaboration	Shared leadership	"No one can accomplish anything alone"
Political	Choosing which conflicts to act upon	Patience	"One needs to be like a shuttle or a government adviser and a person who is balancing the different points of view"
Symbolic	Building significance	Sense-making	"What will this mean for us?"

The structural frame in program directors' work was seen as a consistent pursuit of rationality attempting to make the couplings between the UAS sub-systems tighter. The primary change making mechanism for a program director is planning. Systematic planning skills are both needed and appreciated in the UAS environment and it can be argued that planning is the basic mechanism for a program director to have an effect on her/his environment.

The human resource frame in program directors' work is portrayed by their consistent efforts to give individualized attention to every faculty member and at the same time promote co-operation in multiple ways. Program directors who use this frame attempt to tighten the couplings between the lecturers' administrative, collaborative and teaching arenas thus making the change possible. Thus the primary change making in this leadership frame is an attempt at shared leadership. This was exemplified in program directors' consistent urge to face the future together with her/his team.

The political frame in program directors' work is evident in their attempts to balance the needs of different interest groups with patience and honouring fairness understand-

ing that the successes and failures are not always dependent the doings of the program director. Change, too, can be accomplished, but because of the loosely coupled nature of the organizational sub-systems, it is acknowledged by the program director that the outcomes are not necessarily exactly what were desired for.

The symbolic frame in program directors' work was manifest through their efforts to build significance for the degree program and lecturers' work. The primary change making mechanism for the program directors using this frame was seen in their consistent attempts at joint sensemaking of the program's reason for being.

7

Conclusions

7.1 Findings

7.1.1 Multiframing and loose couplings

No-one familiar with the history or having experience of the practises of Finnish universities of applied sciences will be astonished at the overwhelming ethos of rationality and effectiveness which were portrayed as characteristics of a UAS organization through this study. It is not difficult to share the comment given right after the interview with one of the informants of this study: “Managerialism has found a good home in Finnish UASs”. Many factors have contributed to this. The first decade of UASs’ history can be seen as a constant struggle to prove to the licensing authorities that the operations were well planned, implemented as intended and documented in detail. At the same time the global trend for tighter higher education steering mechanisms (Bleiklie & Kogan, 2007) has intensified and affected the Finnish higher education sector and brought along steering systems that emphasize the need for analysis, planning and control at all levels of the system. Finnish UASs are no exception in this development.

The effects of this development at degree program level are seen clearly in the role of the person who acts as line-manager to UAS lecturers. Analysis, planning and control skills in this environment are of great importance, and it is quite natural that those who seem to possess these skills have been selected for positions in which they can utilize their skills for the benefit of all parties. As this study showed, program directors, or people in similar positions in Finnish UASs, need to accept the rules of this game and be conversant with its related vocabulary. The program director needs to work with a variety of planning tools, strategy documents, performance indicators, workload allocation rules and financial guidelines. By using what Bolman and Deal (2008, pp. 47–60)

call “the structural frame” in an organization which exemplifies the characteristics of what Birnbaum (1988, pp. 10–127) calls “the bureaucratic organization”, a program director has the opportunity not only to survive in the organization but also to thrive in it through the demonstration of her/his good analytical and planning skills. A program director needs to use the structural frame every day in her/his operations working as an efficient part of the Finnish UASs’ rational chain of command.

In this perspective, however, it is not surprising that the strict and detailed operational rules that in many ways are discussed between the program director and the lecturers when they are working together on the administrative arena (Savonmäki 2007, p. 107¹), are occasionally used by faculty in a way, that, in the eyes of a program director, might seem as if the lecturers were trying to minimize their work input and maximize their salaries. The theme of endless discussions on how much faculty should be compensated was brought up in Vidgrén’s (2009, p. 163) study, too. One might with reason ask what we talk about when we talk about the application of work allocation rules within Finnish UASs. In other words, what does the constant talk about faculty compensation and resourcing plans tell about the Finnish UASs? Is not it a reflection of the ultimate dream of rationality to try to find a measurement for treating every UAS faculty member in a predictable and fair way covering all circumstances and the full range of constantly changing tasks?

In light of the findings of this study, it can be argued that a program director is challenged with working at least with the following loose couplings of a UAS system a) between teaching and learning, b) between teaching and R & D, c) between lecturers and managers, d) between lecturers’ work and its remuneration, e) between UAS and the working life f) between goals and practises, and g) between communication and actions. The interpretation of this study is that the use of the *structural frame* by a program director is an attempt to make the loose couplings between organizational sub-systems tighter. *The human resource frame* in particular is concerned with tightening the couplings between the faculty and the management, as well as between the teaching and lecturers’ co-operation. *The political frame* provides a program director with a perspective to see that the attempts to tighten these couplings do not necessarily succeed and it is not only a faulty plan or its unsuccessful implementation which should be blamed if the plan cannot be put into practice. This perspective makes it possible to see that there are multiple factors affecting the organization at the same time. Some plans work, some do not. Some goals seem to be achieved although the predicted plan was not exactly followed. *The symbolic frame* offers a program director a chance to make meaning of the many conflicting yet simultaneous episodes which are caused by the loosely-coupled nature of the organization.

As noted in Chapter 3.1.4 Lampinen (2003, p. 11) suggested that in terms of loose coupling, UAS organizations might be much closer to conventional organizations than university organizations. This study cannot provide any comparative information whether this indeed is the case, but the interpretation made in this study would support

1. Salo (2002, pp. 116–121) prefers the term ”den offentliga arenan”, the public area

Salo's (2002) and Savonmäki's (2007) views on seeing the UASs through the multitude of loose couplings.

The existence of loose couplings in a UAS organization is not to be regarded as a sign of inadequate management or faulty quality assurance systems although the structural frame might suggest such an interpretation. Although the global trend for tighter steering mechanisms is changing universities by tightening the couplings (de Boer, Enders & Leisyte, 2007) loosely coupled sub-systems can still be seen to be typical of higher education organizations (cf. Chapter 3.1.4) and their existence could also serve as one of the main reasons for professional leadership at the degree program or equivalent middle management level of Finnish UASs. In other words, the program directors have the loosely coupled nature of the organization both to thank for the existence and importance of their job and regard the loosely-coupled nature of the organization as one of the major causes for the challenges, difficulties, conflicts and contradictions in their job. Bolman and Deal's (2008) concept of multiframeing or another similar concept emphasizing the need to see the organization from multiple perspectives can help the program manager to make sense of her/his own work as this study has indicated. Finnish UASs can be approached from the structural, human resource, political and symbolical perspectives and the program director's ability to change the frame when needed might serve as a valuable tool in UAS program leadership².

This study showed that all program directors interviewed used both the structural as well as the human resource frame in their work. Thus it can be argued that the use of these two frames is the minimum requirement to survive in a middle management position at a Finnish UAS. The use of these two frames according to the definition given by Bolman and Deal is connected with managerial effectiveness. It might be not too courageous to argue that program directors' use of the structural frame is what is mostly expected by top management and the use of the human resource frame is what is mostly expected by faculty at a Finnish UAS. However, fulfilling the possible expectations of the faculty by using the human resource frame is demanding if the number of lecturers a program director is in charge of is as large as in some of the UASs where the interviews took place. Having a span of control of over 35 or even 50 members of faculty will make the application of the human resource frame quite impossible, at least if there is an attempt to give individualized attention to all lecturers. If the use of the human resource frame were appreciated at Finnish UASs, the spans of control should be considerably narrower and program directors' enthusiasm to increase the amount and quality of collaborative working practises and experiments towards shared or distributive leadership could thus be encouraged. If the spans of control will remain as wide as these, the loose couplings between teaching, administrative and collaborative arenas will continue to remain loose in the future, too.

In the light of the research findings one should also contemplate where the ideas of management come from. The direct quotes in the interview material point out that not only the project directors' past experiences of working in the private sector and attending

2. Naturally this perspective is not only for the program directors to perceive the organization, but for all its other members, too.

management training have brought along these ideas but also that the Ministry of Education has influenced the adaptation of ideas of appropriate leadership and management in a UAS organization. It should not be forgotten either that one third of the interviewees were working in the field of business education, which means, at least theoretically, being exposed to the latest concepts of management in their everyday environment. It is also evident that as all Finnish UASs have close contact with working life, all program directors must have multiple contacts with the boundary-spinning individuals who have identify themselves both within higher education and in non-academic sectors working e.g. in advisory boards of UASs (Birnbaum 2001, p. 133).

However, in addition to paying attention to these direct leads in the interview data, the question of the origin management models can be approached from a more general level. It has been suggested that standardized models of management are spreading around the world much faster than in the past, especially in Europe. Globalization is seen to amplify the diffusion of organizing ideas. Central to this view is the notion that organizations are seen as sovereign actors and management is seen as an essential tool through which uncertainties can be controlled rationally and efficiently. The standardized ideas of management and the myth of rational organization are seen to travel from one country to another and across sectors making business and public organizations more alike. The universalistic models of rational management are spreading because the more consensus they can build around them the more legitimate they are seen both in the internal and external environments. (Meyer, 1996; Meyer J. W., 2002; Meyer, Drori & Hwang, 2006.) The travel of management ideas is happening more or less simultaneously in different places without the actors necessarily being conscious of it (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996).

The three core values behind this theory are of special relevance when examining the origin of management ideas of Finnish UAS program directors. The first is that the organizing ideas which are linked to rationalistic values travel easier than ideas that are not linked to such legitimated goals. The second core value is the new demand for justice for individuals. Ideas of people's rights and fair and equal treatment of all have become more intensified and standardized, and modern organizations are expected to engage people in dynamic participation. The third core value is the rational organization itself, the idea that in order to accomplish legitimate goals, purposeful structures need to be created and perfected. (Meyer, 1996.)

The findings of this study can be seen to reflect these core values as both the structural and the human resource frames were used by all interviewed program directors. In other words, without necessarily being conscious of being part of the global diffusion of standardized ideas of organization and management, UAS program directors manifest these ideas in their everyday thinking and behavior. This is in line with the thinking of Krücken and Meier (2006) who suggest that universities that have been open to their environments are more likely to incorporate new institutional elements and to "enact the common script of turning the university into organizational actor" than "ivory tower" universities.

7.1.2 Necessary but interchangeable? Role clarification and recruitment of future program directors

As typical as the elections of department heads for fixed time periods at universities are, the interpretation of this study is that temporary program director's appointments, for example for three years, are very consistent with the structural frame orientation of leadership and do not necessarily promote the change required in Finnish UASs. The structural frame would suggest that a temporary position holder in an organization is a link in the chain of command performing predetermined tasks in such a way that he or she can be quite easily replaced after the term is over. Kerr and Gade (1986, p. 11) quote March and compare this kind of higher education leadership position to a light bulb: "necessary, but interchangeable". However, a temporary commitment will make the application of the human resource and the symbolic leadership frames more difficult than for a program director who is committed to her/his position on a permanent basis. Knowing faculty, "intimately as I do" for a long period of time as one of the interviewees in this study stated in the interview, will provide a program director with an opportunity to provide individualized attention and long-time support to her/his followers. The symbolic frame-related meaning-making of the future of the program is hardly to be expected of someone who is counting the days until her/his term as a program director is over and a successor will take the position.

Among the program directors interviewed there were both temporary and permanent job holders. UASs could use the multiple frame-related thinking in their organizational practises and consider the merits of appointing faculty leaders on a permanent basis, if possible, in order to increase the commitment to change making activities throughout the organization. This study gave reason to suppose that, despite the many challenges involved, the position of a program director or an equivalent middle management position involving leading of faculty might also be a rewarding position for its holders (see also Murphy, 2003). Although the most sceptical comments regarding the position of the program director were made by the representatives in the field of technology describing the program director as "an errand boy of the management", the position as "the only clerical position in the department", "an inevitable evil visited upon each in turn", "the most miserable position anyone could want", it should also be pointed out that the four program directors who in this study were regarded to use all four leadership frames represented all three different educational fields covered in the sample frame; social work and health care, business and technology. Thus it could be tentatively argued that multiframeing is not characteristic of any particular educational field.

Consistent with the suggestion above that in an organization manifesting a profoundly rational ethos it would be only rational that faculty tried to optimize the ratio of their remuneration for the work input ("maximum salary with minimum effort") it could be argued that a program director might see her middle management position in an unfavorable light compared with her/his former position of working as a lecturer or a principal lecturer. As Clark states (1983, pp. 243–244) in a university system, "have-nots" have a continuous interest in being parallel with "haves" and if a program director's

work is only seen to offer less rewards than what would be forthcoming in a lecturer's or principal lecturer's position, it could easily lead into a situation in which a program director would seek to return to the teaching position or request more remuneration. Meaning making of a program director's own position, through the use of political and symbolic frames could serve as a way of building significance in a program director's own work in a manner similar to the way in which teaching is rewarding to faculty (cf. Murphy, 2003). In other words, the collaboration promoter's role might become an important significance building activity and a dedicated role for a UAS program director. This endeavor would, of course, need to be consistent with the UAS top management's strategy for changing the practises of UASs through collaborative attempts. UAS top management's support for the program director would be needed to make program director's role more prominent in this endeavor.

Similar top management support would be needed if the symbolic frame-induced activities of significance building and meaning-making on the degree program level were desired. This would replace the role of a middle manager as a strategy implementer into a more dialogic role, seeing that the change processes are only possible if someone in the organization has the time and skills to engage in an on-going discussion on the meaning and vision of the UAS organization. The fulfilment of all these roles is naturally time-consuming and, in addition to preparing the "iron structure" for the degree program i.e. co-ordinating the course offerings with faculty work plans, might easily add to the experienced burdens of the program director's job and should be carefully clarified in the discussions between the program directors and their own superiors. The interview material gave leads to understanding that program directors' own workloads are heavy and time management skills and well-being were constantly searched for. The priorities of the program directors' work should be carefully clarified in the discussions between the program directors and their own superiors. Both groups should have a shared understanding as to whether it is only the "iron structure" and the use of the structural leadership frame the program director is expected to accomplish and demonstrate, or whether the use of additional leadership frames would be needed for the benefit of the UAS. The tasks should then be examined carefully to see whether it is possible for one person to accomplish them all.

Deem et al. (2007, pp. 35–36) distinguish between career track managers', reluctant managers' and good citizens' paths to higher education leadership. Henkel (2002) distinguishes between those higher education leaders who regard leadership positions as a way of doing "community service" and those for whom leadership tasks offer a change for positive identity reconstruction. All these career patterns were distinguished among the program directors interviewed in this study. Finnish UASs vary in their practise of recruiting their program directors and people in equivalent middle-manager positions. Some UASs advertise these positions openly; some select the middle-managers among the lecturers. In this study, the vast majority of the program directors interviewed had been appointed from inside among the lecturers or principal lecturers of the UAS.

A program director's position for anyone on the "career track" to UAS top management positions is a natural step. Before entering the ranks of top management, a

program director’s position may provide valuable lessons of the organizational reality seen through the political frame. Thus the encouragement of program directors to apply for top management positions could be strongly recommended.

The “career track”, however, is not what all program directors interviewed wished for. It was indicated in the interviewees that a program director’s or equivalent position might offer rewards that cannot be found at the upper levels of the organizational hierarchy. It could be suggested that one of the unique opportunities the position of a program director is to use the political leadership frame siding with either top management or faculty in a flexible manner and unquestioned by anyone. It could be interpreted that this works through a pull/detachment mechanism (Figure 6). The “pull mechanism” refers to a program director’s opportunity for alignment with either top management or faculty. The “detachment mechanism” works in the opposite direction i.e. towards the center, the middle management position. The opportunity to use this pull/detachment mechanism may be interpreted as one of the assets of the middle management position and a reason reject the career track leading to UAS top management. The pull/detachment mechanism of the middle management position might provide program directors with a rewarding opportunity to view the whole UAS in a more comprehensive manner than top management or faculty.

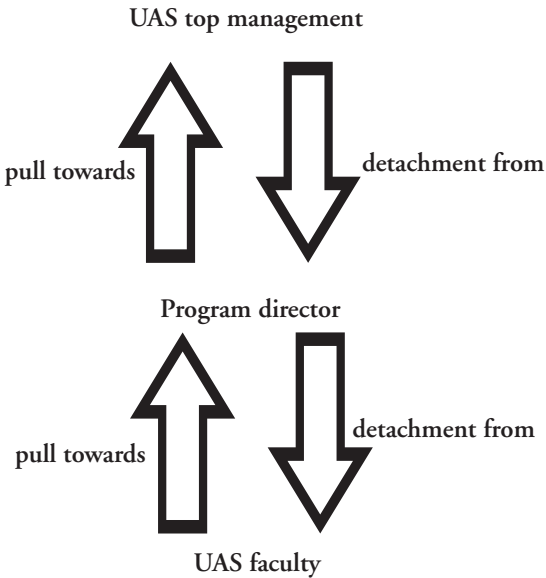


Figure 6. The pull/detachment mechanism in a program director’s work

“Good citizens’ and “reluctant managers” stories of taking the leadership role when requested either by top management or by faculty were also distinguished in this study. Many of the program directors interviewed represented the first generation of program

leadership in their UASs. They had been the first ones appointed to for these positions, for example because of their seniority and being among the first lecturers who transferred from the former college-level institutions to the AMK institutions in the early 1990s. Their knowledge of the degree program content seems to have contributed to this.

It might be beneficial for the UASs to know where their potential future program directors and career track managers can be found. Recruitment from outside is naturally one option. A program director appointed from outside the higher education sector will need a good orientation program and plenty of time, especially to understand the political nature of higher education organizations. In this respect, recruiting from the ranks of existing faculty might often be a good solution. However, as suggested above, consideration should be used to develop the job profile into a manageable one in order to increase the potential interest among the lecturers and principal lecturers because the leadership option might not seem rational in the sense of the input-output ratio of work effort and perceived benefits. The reluctant managers' track, i.e. recruiting a person to a position for which s/he is not motivated, either for a fixed term or permanent term, should, of course, be avoided.

7.1.3 Emphasizing multiframing leadership

The recommendation of this study is that the work of a program director, or anyone in a similar position being in charge of the leadership of UAS lecturers, should be thoroughly discussed within each UAS. If a UAS sees that a program director's position requires only the use of the structural frame and will be filled for a fixed term, it should be made clear to both the position holders and their followers. Neither the program director nor the lecturers should then expect more from the job or its holder. Working as an efficient part of the command chain requires analytical planning skills and those should be emphasized when recruiting for these positions. If, however, the human resource frame orientation is emphasized, the program director or someone in an equivalent position should be thoroughly familiar with the challenges of lecturers' work. If, as the study indicated, more collaborative working practises are needed and emphasized, the program director's attempts towards shared or distributed leadership should be encouraged. This would require a careful examination of the suitable span of control and contemplation of how many lecturers a line-manager can cope with in order to provide the individualized attention to everyone.

According to Bolman and Deal (2008, pp. 18-19) multiframing is especially important in times of change. If the UASs want to strengthen their position as "equal but different" representatives of the Finnish higher education sector and part of the innovation system, the leadership practises should be developed, too. Because the present and future challenges of UASs are quite different than in the former college-level institutions, the leadership practises that were suitable for that environment are hardly suitable for today's UASs. In addition, the appropriateness of copying leadership practises from universities

or the business sector should be examined with caution in order to estimate whether the university practises of recruiting department heads for fixed terms is consistent with UASs' goals, or whether the special characteristics of the higher education organization as seen in the multitude of conflicting and ambiguous goals favors the adoption of the leadership models of business companies.

Emphasizing multiframing leadership and defining the work of UAS middle management to encompass the use of the political and symbolic frames in addition to structural and human resource frames might be one of the solutions to support UASs' endeavors towards their goals. This would entail that the dynamics of a higher education organization and its shifting power bases need to be understood by UAS program directors. In addition it would require that their meaning making activities at the degree program or equivalent level should be encouraged. In light of the findings of this study, it can be concluded there are program directors in Finnish UASs with the capacity to multiframe. If UASs' capacities for change were to be further promoted, emphasizing their middle management's multiframing activities could be further supported.

Bolman and Deal's argument of multiframing enabling more efficient leadership is arguably a statement reflecting rather the positivist than the constructivist paradigm, for constructivists there is no such a phenomenon as efficient leadership nor any way of measuring it. A constructivist interpretation of multiframing would emphasize that it provides possibilities for constructing multiple understandings of the organization. For program directors themselves, the time spent on contemplating on the different meanings on organizations and leadership are being constructed not only by themselves, but also by their superiors and subordinates and actors in the UAS external environment might provide basis for what is fashionably called as "identity work" (Alvesson, Ashcraft & Thomas, 2008; Watson, 2008) when examining the many often conflicting expectations that are directed at the program director's managerial role. Being able to see one's own part as "enacting the common script in the myth of rational organization" (cf. Chapter 7.1.1) in a loosely coupled higher education organization might lead if not to more efficient leadership, at least to acknowledgment and the acceptance of the conflicting demands as part of the leadership role in present UASs.

7.2 Evaluation

7.2.1 Theoretical and methodological considerations

Evaluation of the suitability of the theoretical framework

Bolman and Deal (1992) suggest that the use of leadership frames is context driven. They conclude that the frame use of school administrators in Singapore was different from the frame use of US school administrators (Bolman & Deal, 1991b; 1992). The

frames of school administrators also differed from higher education and corporate samples (Bolman & Deal, 1991b).

Because of the methodological differences, the findings of this study could not be compared with the study on health information management program directors conducted by Sasnett and Ross (2007) nor with the study on nursing chairpersons in baccalaureate nursing programs by Mosser and Walls (2002) in order to discuss whether the possible differences between US and Finnish cultures would be reflected in these studies in which the leadership frames of comparable target groups were examined in two different countries.

During the analysis stage of this study there were two issues in which the differences between US and Finnish cultures were thought to be the reason for confusion. One of these was the term “bargaining”. Bolman and Deal’s coding chart (1991b) does not give any explanations for the coding groups, nor does it provide any key quotes on the contents of the categories. It was therefore impossible to conclude whether the term was used in a more generic sense meaning negotiating with the intention to “sell something” to the other party or if Bolman and Deal were referring to collective bargainings between labor unions. My consultation with relevant sources and scholars in the field of organizational communication did not help to find a rule to distinguish between coding groups of “negotiation” and “bargaining”. Finally I ended up combining these groups (cf. coding chart in Appendix 2) arguing that in the context of program directors the difference in these terms as an example of political frame use would not be significant.

In addition, when coding for the symbolic frame-related categories of rituals, ceremonies, artefacts or retreats I pondered whether the lack of indications in these themes in the research data was indication of national cultural differences, the real work context of Finnish program directors or whether the scarcity of empirical leads in this theme was due to an unsuccessful interview strategy. My data had some leads into the theme of celebration of achievements, but with one exception only in the sense of sharing the success stories publicly e.g. in a team meeting in an informal manner. This issue should be investigated more closely in a further study, but my tentative interpretation would be that the program directors are not necessarily allowed to use the symbolic frame to create such celebrations and rituals at the degree program or equivalent level. Organizing e.g. a cruise for the faculty of the degree program as a symbol of a journey to the future might be not allowed in a UAS organization, not only for budgetary reasons, but because it could cause jealousy among other organizational members. Another explanation might be that the “master of ceremonies” role for symbolic leadership in this respect would be reserved for a leader who is higher up in the UAS hierarchy.

To conclude, although reframing theory is of US origin and the vast majority of reframing studies have been conducted in the US, the challenges of applying Bolman and Deal’s reframing theory to the leadership of Finnish UASs were not with these two exceptions in my interpretation due to differences in the national cultures.

Evaluation of the analysis method

However, as the notes in my research diary during the coding phase of this study reveal, I faced coding challenges which might partly be explained by the development of managerial tools in the last 20 years between Bolman and Deal's creation of the coding chart and the time when the interviews of this study were analyzed. As explained in Chapter 5.3.6 the program directors interviewed used terms such as "competence management", "coaching" or "team leadership", and I needed to create rules on how to code the responses combining the elements of multiple frame orientations (cf. Chapter 5.3.6). However, this endeavor was most illustrative and contributed to my understanding between the meanings of structural and human resource frames as I concluded that one can easily talk about HR development or competence management only from the organizational point of view discussing faculty development needs as if they were something to be managed, forgetting that the individual and organizational needs must be aligned as the human resource frame would suggest.

Moreover, the program directors interviewed referred constantly to faculty coping and burn-out problems. This did not, as such, cause any problems with the coding, because in Bolman and Deal's (1991b) coding chart they refer to the title "quality-of-work-life programs" and the references were easily coded in that category. However, it could be pointed out that this particular theme is not, as such, discussed by Bolman and Deal (2008), but is very close to the heart of the use of human resource frame in the work of Finnish UAS program directors.

When comparing my notes in my research diary during the active coding phase with the points of criticism leveled at Bolman and Deal's theory (Chapter 4.4) it can be detected that of the many critical points mentioned in the list, most of the doubts during the analysis phase of this research related to the link between thought and action. The coding chart differentiates these two as espoused theories (frame-related issues) and theories-in-use (frame-related actions). The rule for differentiating between frame-related thoughts and frame-related actions was derived from earlier content analysis studies and those comments which could, in principle, be verified by an observer, were coded as frame-related actions (cf. Heimovics et al., 1993; 1995). In practise this rule was quite challenging and often somewhat arbitrary. Intensively reading Weick's writing on sensemaking, I finally concluded that separating thoughts from actions might not be so relevant after all. Weick argues that beliefs and actions are intertwined. "To believe is to initiate actions capable of lending substance to the belief" (Weick, 1995, pp. 133–134.) Sensemaking is an effort to connect beliefs and actions. If the belief is clearer than the action, a sensemaking process is belief-driven. In that case sensemaking takes place through arguing or expecting. If actions are clearer than beliefs, then sensemaking takes the form of committing or manipulating. (Weick, 1995, pp. 133–154). Birnbaum shares this view, as he concludes that acting is thinking "...thinking is as much a product of action as it is a cause; it is by examining the outcome of one's behavior that the thinking that interprets reality occurs" (Birnbaum 1988, p. 212–213).

The link between managerial thought and managerial action could be examined though a model provided by identity theory, too. The theory suggests that there is a mutual link between identity and subsequent actions: individuals perform in a way which confirms and supports their identities while their performances reinforce and support their identities. This is possible if the same frame of reference is used for evaluating both the situation and the subsequent actions. (Burke & Reitzes, 1981; Burke, 1991; Stryker & Burke, 2000).

As presented in Chapter 5.4.1, the use of theory driven content analysis as a qualitative research method has met with much criticism. One of the key points of the criticism is whether the pre-existing theory or the existing codebook would constitute an obstacle for the researcher, who then only finds evidence supportive of the theory and misses the contextual features of the phenomenon studied (e.g. Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). In this study the reason for evaluating the suitability of the analysis method was even more important, because Bolman and Deal's theory is by definition concerned with the differences of making meaning and is thus very constructivist in its orientation³. The solution in this study was to follow Braun and Clarke's (2006) recommendation and use content analysis as a flexible tool and keep in mind their advice, that because of the freedom it is necessary for the researcher to make clear the epistemological assumptions behind the study and question and explicitly report the choices which have been made. Moreover, the rigor of the analysis by the use of the code book was thought to contribute to the credibility of this study because I studied my own profession.

However, the choice to present the data not only through the themes, but also through the profile description of four program directors in a manner pointing towards the direction of narrative analysis was a carefully chosen strategy to attempt to let the data speak in its richness and originality.

To summarize the preceding sub-chapters: in my understanding the majority of the challenges in this study using Bolman and Deal's reframing theory resulted from the pre-existing coding book and not from the theory or national differences. The use of an existing code in this study had both advantages and disadvantages. The advantages are connected with the rigor of the analysis, which was seen to contribute to the credibility of the study, especially because I studied my own profession; the disadvantages are due to slight out datedness and blurred concepts in the coding book. I argue that the reframing theory served as a suitable and illustrative conceptual framework for the study of Finnish UAS leadership.

3. This criticism of the disparity of analysis methods and theoretical framework should be taken seriously when evaluating not only this study but all studies belonging to the strand of qualitative content analysis studies using reframing study with the notable exception of Kezar et al. (2008). Discussing a markedly constructivist oriented theory with content analysis methods should be exposed to the criticism of Silverman (2006) and Bryman (2004). However, the quantitative tradition of reframing studies is to be regarded with similar or even greater suspicion. Using statistical methods to draw conclusions on the meaning construction of leaders can be criticized because the theory and the methods would seem to belong to different research paradigms.

Evaluating the contribution of the study

This study showed that in addition to finding structural and human resource frame-related management in Finnish UASs, there are leaders in UAS middle management capable of seeing their organizations through the political perspective and of leading their followers using the symbolic frame. Instead of discussing why the majority of the interviewees did not indicate symbolic frame use or did not espouse the use of all four frames, the attention should be directed to the realization that symbolic leadership and multiframe leadership may be found among the Finnish UAS middle management. Bolman and Deal's message, although criticized as "nothing but evangelistic" by Dunford and Palmer (1995) is that the multiple frame can contribute to organizational development and promotion of change.

In this study, the conceptual frame was used in a new context and provided new information and more profound understanding of a higher education profession that had not been studied previously. In addition, this study and the modified codebook contribute to the qualitative strand of reframing studies.

7.2.2 Trustworthiness

The reliability and validity of constructivist oriented research could be evaluated with the concept of trustworthiness. An examination of trustworthiness should provide convincing answers for:

How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences (including self) that the findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to, worth taking account for? What arguments can be mounted, what criteria invoked, what questions asked, that would be persuasive in this issue (Guba & Lincoln, 1985, p. 290).

Trustworthiness can be examined through credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability of the research. (Lincoln & Denzin, 2005; Guba & Lincoln, 1985, pp. 301–331, Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008, p. 294). These evaluation criteria replace the terms "internal validity", "external validity", "reliability" and "objectivity" in quantitative research.

In qualitative research *credibility* is achieved if the researcher's interpretation of the phenomenon studied is a plausible one. This could be interpreted to mean that another researcher, with the same data, would arrive at similar conclusions. In addition, the concept of credibility entails that the research report should demonstrate that the researcher is familiar with the topic, the material collected has been sufficient and the connection with observations and the interpretation is strong (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008, p. 294; p. 304).

As discussed in Chapter 5.4.1, positivistic oriented qualitative content analysis favors arrangements in which the coding is done by at least two independent coders and their work will be judged by calculating agree coefficients between the coders' work. In addition, validity checks with expert panels used with the aim of calculating content validity indices between panel members and the researcher. (Krippendorff, 2004b; Latvala & Vanhanen-Nuutinen, 2001). A test-retest method, in which the researcher her/himself codes the data, again after some time period, can also be used. I chose to do none of these checks because I wanted to emphasize the constructivist paradigm by writing the descriptions of Petra, Tina, Daniel and Frans in addition to giving rich description of the theme content. The content analysis served as a systematically documented and transparent step towards these.

Guba and Lincoln (1985, p. 314) suggest that member checks could serve as one method for evaluating the credibility of research. Member checking is a method in which the researcher collects comments of her/his interpretations from the original informants of the study. I chose to send the composite examples of the interpretation i.e. the sketches of Petra, Tina, Frans and Daniel to be evaluated by three program directors working in equivalent positions in Finnish UASs. My method differed from the classic member check because only one of these evaluators had been interviewed in the study. The evaluators were asked to estimate the credibility of the profile on the basis of their own experiences and also to evaluate whether they exemplified the use of particular frames. More specifically, they were asked to choose, if possible, the character that best suited a given statement. The statements for this were selected from among the statements in Bolman and Deal's quantitative survey (Bolman, 2010). The instructions for the evaluators and the statements are included in Appendix 3.

All three evaluators agreed that the portraits of the program directors are plausible. One evaluator commented that "I reflected my own work and the way my colleagues work. The descriptions are from the world of UASs." One evaluator commented "The descriptions are actually too familiar to me". Thus it could be argued that the credibility of this study gained support from the evaluators as they agreed that the interpretation of the research findings was plausible.

Table 19 summarizes the answers of the evaluators given for the statements presented to them. The table has been created with the rule that if an evaluator designated a particular statement to one character, the character would receive one point. The evaluators were able to choose multiple characters for each statement. They were also able to leave a blank answer for a statement in which they evaluated no character was consistent with a statement, or indicate with a question mark if they were unsure of the meaning of the statement. In addition, the evaluators were able to indicate if the statement described the character only partly or poorly. In that case, the character has been given 0.5 points in the summary.

Table 19. Summary of the evaluators' ratings of the statements

Frame	Statement	Ratings
Structural	Strongly emphasizes careful planning and clear timelines	Petra 3
Structural	Develops and implements clear, logical policies	Petra 3 Daniel 1 Frans 1 Tina 0.5
Structural	Uses logical analysis and careful thinking	Petra 3 Tina 0,5
Structural	Pays extraordinary attention to detail	Petra 1 unclear statement 1 blank 1
Structural	Approaches problems with facts and logic	Petra 3 Daniel 1.5
Structural	Strongly believes in the clear chain of command	Petra 3 Daniel 0.5
Human resource	Shows high support and concern for others	Tina 3 Daniel 1 Frans 1 Petra 0.5
Human resource	Shows high sensitivity and concern for others' needs	Tina 2 Daniel 1 Frans 1
Human resource	Gives personal recognition for work well done	Tina 3
Human resource	Is consistently helpful and responsive to others	Tina 3 Frans 1 Petra 0.5 Daniel 0.5
Human resource	Builds trust through open, collaborative relationships	Tina 3 Frans 2
Human resource	Listens well and is unusually receptive to others' input	Tina 3 Frans 3
Political	Anticipates and deals skilfully with organizational conflict	Petra 1 Tina 1 Daniel 1 blank 1
Political	Succeeds in the face of conflict and opposition	Tina 1 Daniel 1 Frans 1 Petra 0.5 blank 1
Political	Is a very skilful and shrewd negotiator	Tina 3 Frans 2 Daniel 1
Political	Gets support from people with influence and power	Petra 2 Frans 1 Daniel 1
Political	Is politically very sensitive and skillful	Daniel 2 Frans 2 Tina 1.5 Petra 1
Political	Is usually persuasive and influential	Tina 2 Frans 1

Symbolic	Is highly charismatic	Tina 1 Frans 1 blank 1 unclear statement 1
Symbolic	Models organizational aspirations and values	Frans 3 Tina 1 Petra 1
Symbolic	Is highly imaginative and creative	Frans 2 Tina 1
Symbolic	Sees beyond current realities to create exciting opportunities	Frans 3 Tina 1 Daniel 0.5
Symbolic	Communicates strong and challenging sense of mission	Frans 3 Petra 2

The ratings of the evaluators would indicate that the portraits of Petra and Tina are very consistent with the statements given for the use of structural and human resource frames. All three evaluators agreed that five structural frame-related statements were illustrative of Petra's behavior and thus the score for Petra for these statements was 3. Only in regard to the statement "extraordinary attention to detail" the evaluators' ratings were not that consistent. Likewise, the statements relating to the use of the human resource frame, according to the evaluators, were characteristic of the description of Tina, as in five of the statements Tina's score was 3 and in the statement "shows high sensitivity and concern for others' needs" Tina's score is 2. One of the evaluators commented on Tina's profile by asking whether she might be a newly appointed program director being so unaccustomed to the "hard facts of the environment".

The ratings would also indicate that the portrait of Frans is quite consistent with the statements indicating the use of symbolic frame as in three of the statements Frans' score is 3 and in the statement "is highly imaginative and creative" the score is 2. It is quite consistent with the interpretation of this study that the statement referring to the leader charisma divided opinions among the evaluators. As indicated in Chapter 6.4.4, the interview data gave scarcely any leads on charismatic leader behavior among UAS program directors and charismatic leader behavior was thus not described in the program directors' profiles. The evaluators' diverging comments can thus be seen to be consistent.

As seen in Table 19, the evaluators' ratings regarding the statements on the use of the political frame were strongly divided. Daniel's profile in this study, made to illustrate the political frame use in UAS program director's leadership, was not regarded by the evaluators to be consistent with the statements regarding the use of the political frame as the ratings for these statements were diversified to cover all portraits. This might either indicate that the use of the political frame is inevitably part of the program director's work and could thus be seen in all sketches. An alternative way of explaining the diverging ratings in regard to these sentences would support the interpretation of this study (cf. Chapter 6.3), according to which political frame use in program director's work is not always possible or allowed because of the middle management position of the program director. Although the program director may be aware of the differing opinions among

the stakeholders of the organization, it is not always in her/his power to “deal with it skilfully” or act in an “influential and persuasive” way. In this sense the evaluators’ comments would support the interpretation of this study.

Transferability means the researcher’s capability to establish a connection between her/his interpretation with those of earlier studies, *dependability* refers to the consistency in how the research process is reported to a reader and *confirmability* means that the data and interpretations are linked in a way which can be understood by the readers (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008, p. 294; pp. 303-309). In this study, the research process was explained in Chapter 5, including an examination of researcher position and descriptions of the fieldwork with references to field notes. The themes in this study were theory-based. Reframing theory and earlier studies in the field were discussed in Chapter 4. The coding book is included in Appendix 2, giving examples for each code group and explanations of the first-level subgroups. In the analysis section (Chapter 6) the themes were described providing examples as translations of direct quotes of the interview data. The discussion sections in Chapters 6 and 7 in this report have linked the findings with those of earlier studies and theories. However, because of vast methodological differences, comparing the results of this study with the quantitative strand of reframing studies was not considered appropriate.

Throughout the research process and its documentation it has, nevertheless, been acknowledged that it is not possible for a qualitative researcher to look at the *Lebenswelt* from outside. The subjectivist epistemology adopted acknowledges that meanings are co-created by the researcher and the informant, and the researcher’s own understanding of the research questions affected the research process and the interpretation. In addition, the research process and the interpretations also affected my own construction of the work of a program director. The meanings attached to the work changed throughout the process and are about to change in the future, too. The constructivist view suggests that each reader of this research report will construct her/his own meaning of the phenomenon studied. The possible change in these meanings of the practitioners of the profession, their superiors or their followers through reading this study could be seen to be one of the most important contributions of this study. The constructivist argument maintains that there is no such thing as the work of a program director or leadership, there are only the meanings we attach to it. By changing our meanings we can change the work and the leadership. This, in turn, might affect our construction of UASs as part of the Finnish higher education and innovation system.

7.3 Suggestions for further research

It is hardly surprising that the program directors interviewed believed that leadership matters in higher education. Seen through the four frames leadership was constructed in different ways, each frame portraying a UAS organization in a different light. Seen

through the structural frame, leadership is a means to achieve predictability and rationality in an organization. Seen through the human resource frame leadership is important because it can contribute to the well-being and success of each organizational member. The political frame suggests that the overwhelming rational ethos disguises what is really going on in an organization and that leadership is needed to balance the conflicts, battles and negotiations which are continuously taking place in an organization. The symbolic frame-related leadership is concerned with the meaning of the organization and its members as it invites the organization members to engage in the dialogue discussing the past, present and future of the organization. Leadership is important, for both its positive and possibly negative effects. UASs as a part of the national innovation system need to be led efficiently, honoring the expertise of their faculty, understanding the present needs of different stakeholders and building for the future.

This study looked at the organizations of ten different UASs through the eyes of 15 middle management representatives. Not only did it contribute to understanding the work of a line-manager of a UAS lecturer but it provided insights into the internal organizations of UASs. The cross-sectional research design would indicate that the challenges of leading faculty are not UAS specific, nor typical of certain educational fields. Studies applying the theories in the field of higher education to Finnish UASs are almost nonexistent. More research is needed in this area. Possible research themes are: how decisions are made, obeyed and implemented at Finnish UASs, how co-operation can be further accelerated, how do the UAS lecturers want to be led, what is the content of academic freedom within UASs and how do the institutional cultures affect the organizational behavior at different UASs? As a further study proposal, it is also suggested that the research on organizational cultures of UASs could be approached by studying the discourses of its middle management.

Reframing theory as a conceptual framework proved quite illuminating in the Finnish UAS environment, too. The framework could be used to study Finnish UAS rectors or other members of their top management. Bolman and Deal research tradition provides many different information gathering and analysis options for this. The quantitative instrument can be easily combined with peer or follower evaluations. The survey instrument could also be used for a study involving a larger number of program directors in a cross-sectional or a case-study setting.

To conclude, it can be stated that this research is of the few studies on Finnish higher education leadership and it can only be hoped that many more are to come, not only in the Finnish UAS sector, but also in the university sector. The impacts of managerialism are shaping the structures of higher education institutions everywhere. We need a great deal of research on its effects on the meso and micro level to understand and develop higher education professionals' work in changing circumstances. Only through this kind of research could the higher education sector itself contribute to the definition of the concept "professional leadership in higher education". The concept should not be given from outside borrowing definitions from other sectors outside academia; its content must be defined jointly by higher education leadership practitioners and researchers. This study can hopefully serve as one contribution towards its definition.

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APPENDIX 1

Translation of an e-mail requesting an interview appointment

Dear (firstname)!

I just received a delightful message from (liason person). S/he told me, that your preliminary response to my interview request had been positive. I am working on a dissertation on the work of the line-managers of UAS lecturers. I aim to interview 12–15 managers in different UASs during this fall. May I come to (location) to interview you?

I checked the train schedules and noticed that the connection from Helsinki is splendid, so any time after 10 a.m. would suit me. I am free, for example, on the following days

(list of 8 dates in September and October 2009)

If none of these dates is possible for you, could you kindly suggest a date after these? The interview will last 1–1.5 hours. The interview themes will discuss leadership and management in the changing UAS environment. I will record the interview, but make sure that none of the interviewees or the UAS they work for can be identified in the research report.

Kind regards

Johanna Vuori
Degree Program Director
HAAGA-HELIA University of Applied Sciences
(on study leave 1 September 2008–30 June 2009)
phone (number)

APPENDIX 2

CODING BOOK

(Based on Bolman and Deal 1991b)

Italics used for direct quotes typical to the codes in the category

1. Structural frame-related actions (total codings: sources 15, references 52)

Code	Description, example	Number of sources, number of references
Reorganizing	Active involvement in course design, work-load division, methods selection, delegation of one's own tasks: <i>(interfering with course contents): "I think this is unnecessary, it must be cut out"</i>	Sources 5, references 9
Implementing or clarifying policies and procedures	Clarifying procedures and rules with students and staff, implementing strategy, working towards objectives <i>"we examine the indicators, and try to find out how they could be improved"</i>	Sources 11, references 22
Developing new information, budgeting, or control systems	Using team meetings to emphasize information sharing, developing feedback systems: <i>"...personnel feedback, I make a summary of it and we discuss it twice"</i>	Sources 3, references 4
Adding new structural units	Development of new degree program variations (different target groups, multi-source financing, new pedagogical approach): <i>"in addition to our mainstream implementation, we have started a new one".</i>	Sources 2, references 2
Planning processes	Curriculum design, annual planning : <i>"I made plans based on the calculations that we can survive with the basic funding"</i>	Sources 7, references 13

2. Structural frame-related issues (total codings: sources 15, references 183)

Code	Description, example	Number of sources, number of references
Clarity or lack of clarity about goals, roles or expectations	Subcoding under goal orientation, job descriptions, results, <i>"That our strategy is implemented, everything is connected to vision and mission and that our goals would be alive and lead our efforts at grassroot levels."</i>	Sources 14, references 51
Coordination and control	Subcoding under control systems, delegation, information systems, integration, multiple programs: <i>"Nevertheless, you cannot communicate or inform too much."</i>	Sources 15, references 52
Issues around policies and procedures	Subcoding under fairness, Ministry & law, rewarding, rules. <i>"Enormous problems will be faced if people feel that they are not fairly treated."</i>	Sources 12, references 36
References to analysis and planning ^{1, 2}	Subcoding under analyzing changing role of a teachers, competence management & personnel planning, developing planning procedures, financial planning, workload allocation <i>"Every lecturer should develop her or himself and the courses."</i>	Sources 14, references 54

1. Bolman and Deal's group between references to planning, budgeting and evaluation, and discussion of analysis or its absence. Because the lack of indications to evaluation in my data I combined these groups under the label "References to analysis and planning".
2. Discussion on training that emphasizes the needs and hopes of the faculty or aligning individual aspirations with organizational needs is coded in the Human Resource Frame.

3. Human resource frame-related actions (total codings: sources 15, references 57)

Code	Description, <i>example</i>	Number of sources, number of references
Processes of participation and involvement ³	Arrangements for being available, working in teams: <i>"One of the big sub-areas is still curriculum development and the related issues. Designing the curriculum together with the team and in smaller groups"</i> .	Sources 15, references 46
Training	Looking for solutions to support teachers' own training related wishes: <i>"... it is frustrating, if in the development discussions we have agreed on training participation, and the employer has not been able to make it true"</i>	Sources 5, references 5
Empowerment, organizations development, and quality-of-work life programs	Empowering teachers to use /develop their own strengths for the benefit or the UAS, curriculum design, encouragement of the team to be involved in operations planning, actions promoting well-being at work <i>"flashing green lights, if you as a teacher are willing to act in a certain way, I try to provide facilities to make it possible. In this way we have created pedagogical arrangements."</i>	Sources 9, references 18

3. Subgroups of "recruiting" and "workshops and retreats" were so few in number that they were included in this group.

4. Human Resource frame-related issues (total codings: sources 15, references 211)

Code	Description, <i>example</i>	Number of sources, number of references
Discussions of individuals' feelings, needs, preferences, or abilities	Subcoding under: age management, well-being at work, personal competence development, personal issues, clarifying job demands <i>"And naturally we find you a role in which you excel in that field. You master these issues and benefit this workshop in this way"</i>	Sources 9, references 39
References to the importance of participation, listening, open communications, involvement in decision-making, morale	Subcoding under: helping, dialogue, noticing everyone, performance reviews, teacher teams, curriculum planning, regular meetings, being present, support, other collaboration methods <i>"I feel that I act as faculty support".</i>	Sources 15, references 119
Discussion on interpersonal relationships	Subcoding under: diversity management, communication skills, caring <i>"...and if one knows the teacher in a more profound way, as I do. One knows their ways of reacting, in which way they respond to new issues"</i>	Sources 15, references 49
Emphasis on collaboration, win-win, and a sense of family or community	Subcoding under: collaboration as a mental model, working atmosphere, collaboration as a way of operating <i>"It cannot be based on the actions of one person. Everyone on the degree program needs to participate."</i>	Sources 12, references 29

5. Political frame-related actions (total codings: sources 12, references 50)

Code	Description, example	Number of sources, number of references
Bargaining and negotiation ⁴	Examples trying to balance different interests <i>"The financial director and I are bargaining how many graduates we'll have, no, this is too large of a number, there is no way we can reach it."</i>	Sources 12, references 36
Advocacy	Examples of using self as an advocate of the groups interests <i>"We have these ESR systems and others of the kind. So I feel, that I just must push and show that we have ideas. And if we are given a chance, we have a vision of how to develop."</i>	Sources 3, references 4
Building alliances and networking with other key players	Examples of networking and alliance building in UAS environment <i>"we have co-operated with X, i.e. another UAS and negotiated the contents and practical arrangements and resolved billing questions. So I have been involved with this in practise."</i>	Sources 6, references 15

6. Political frame-related issues (total codings: sources 14, references 97)

Code	Description, example	Number of sources, number of references
Focus on conflict or tension among different constituencies, interest groups, or organizations	Dealing with conflicts among different interest groups <i>"...what followed, that particular person threatened to sue us, not the school, but the students"</i>	Sources 8, references 12
Competing interests and agendas ⁵	Coding under subgroups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • agenda and advocacy • UAS vs. students • top management vs. director • top management vs. teachers • director vs. teachers <i>"and what happens is that the ones who have the loudest voice are again able to optimize their own workload and workload plan in the best way."</i>	Sources 14, references 71
Disputes over allocation of scarce resources	Dealing with disputes about the allocation or acquisition of scarce resources: <i>"Well, the fact that there are so many student places in adult education that we compete for in the UAS internally. We cannot react so quickly, because there is a certain annual quota."</i>	Sources 9, references 15

4. "Bargaining" and "negotiation" groups in Bolman and Deals 1991b code combined here

5. The group "Games of power and self-interest" in Bolman and Deal's 1991b code included here

7. Symbolic frame-related actions (total codings: sources 9, references 28)

Code	Description, example	Number of sources, number of references
Creating or revitalizing ceremonies and rituals	Two examples of ceremonies/ritual creations <i>"...a group of 5 – 8 has been able to participate in a course or arrange a developmental and recreation day together. We have tried to make it concrete, that some task has been accomplished in an OK manner."</i>	Sources 2 , references 2
Working on influencing organizational cultures	Examples of attempts to change working cultures <i>"In other words I have deliberately tried to create such a culture saying "go for it", "let's see". It is not that terrible if we do not succeed."</i>	Sources 6, references 12
Working to develop or restate the institutions /program's vision	Examples of searching or clarifying the significance <i>"My favorite thing is to think together with them (the lecturers) how we will be strong in the future and not jump into pitfalls".</i>	Sources 4, references 10
Using self as a symbol	Examples of different kind of situations where the program director has purposefully taken a position to symbolize a position or desired action <i>"If you like it (leadership), the product, the package is credible. But if you do not like it and are there just because of the power or salary, it starts to stink very soon."</i>	Sources 4, references 5

8. Symbolic frame-related issues (total codings: sources 10 , references 42)

Code	Description, example	Number of sources, number of references
Discussions on institutional/ program identity, culture, or symbols	Talk on the reason for being, and way of working and the way of not working <i>"everyone having the feeling, that I am allowed to look for these, and at least in our community these new ideas are accepted, at least tried, and discussed whether it is good or not"</i>	Sources 9, references 24
Discussion of the symbolic importance of existing practises, rituals or artifacts	Talk on the meaning of practises or rituals or their connection with values <i>"...sort of worshipping the Ministry of Education. We have these kinds of ceremonial rituals every once in a while, in which we have to keep on nodding to the right direction."</i>	Sources 4, references 9
Emphasis on influencing how different audiences will interpret or frame an activity or decision ⁶	Talk on how different individuals and groups construct their own meaning <i>"Will be discussed, but in a certain way using a language, that has not necessarily been thought of from faculty point of view"</i>	Sources 4, references 9

6. This group also includes the group "Discussions of the image that will be projected to different audiences" in Bolman and Deal's 1991b code

APPENDIX 3

(Instructions translated)

Johanna Vuori

Face validity 14.6.2010

1. Arguments

Instructions

Based on the descriptions of Tina, Petra, Daniel and Frans, please choose **who in your opinion is best at representing the content of the argument**.

I am looking forward to your first reaction. However, if you cannot find one character per argument, please respond in the following way:

If none of the characters is described in the argument, please leave an empty space. If you find that the argument describes two or more characters, please write these names. If the argument describes a character only weakly or partly, please put the name in parentheses. If you are not sure what the meaning of the argument is, please indicate it with a question mark.

Example

Characters “Eva” and “Adam”

Uses logical analysis and careful thinking: Eva

Shows high support and concern for others: Adam, Eva

Listens well and is consistently helpful and responsive to others: (Eva)

Is highly charismatic: Adam, (Eva)

Develops and implements clear, logical policies:

Is politically very sensitive and skillful: ?

Arguments

Please refer to “Tina”, “Petra”, “Daniel” ja “Frans”

Strongly emphasizes careful planning and clear timelines:

Shows high support and concern for others:

Shows high sensitivity and concern for others’ needs:

Is highly charismatic:

Is a very skillful and shrewd negotiator:
Gives personal recognition for work well done:
Develops and implements clear, logical policies:
Models organizational aspirations and values:
Is consistently helpful and responsive to others:
Uses logical analysis and careful thinking:
Sees beyond current realities to create exciting opportunities:
Gets support from people with influence and power:
Builds trust through open, collaborative relationships:
Listens well and is unusually receptive to others' input:
Has extraordinary attention to detail:

Develops and implements clear, logical policies:
Communicates strong and challenging sense of mission:
Is highly imaginative and creative:
Anticipates and deals skillfully with organizational conflict:
Approaches problems with facts and logic:
Is politically very sensitive and skillful:
Strongly believes in clear chain of command:
Sees beyond current realities to create exciting opportunities:
Succeeds in the face of conflict and opposition:
Is usually persuasive and influential:

2. Trustworthiness

In your own experience, are the descriptions of Tina, Petra, Frans and Daniel trustworthy?

3. Additional comments

Would you like to comment the descriptions or their details? Did they possibly provoke some thoughts?

THANK YOU